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Story-Making:
An Analysis of Journalistic Practices in the Radio News Story

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Résumé

Le 15 février 2003, des manifestations pacifiques ont éclaté un peu partout autour de la terre pour protester contre la guerre imminente qui se préparait alors contre l'Iraq. Ce projet de mémoire s'est développé lorsque je me suis petit à petit rendu compte que la couverture médiatique de ces manifestations semblait beaucoup varier suivant les pays où elle était produite. Ce projet part de l'ethnométhodologie et de l'analyse de conversation en tant que fondements théoriques afin d'analyser trois reportages d'actualités diffusés par des médias de radio publique, dont deux du National Public Radio (États-Unis) et un du Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Plus précisément, je propose de mobiliser l'analyse de conversation pour examiner ces reportages radiophoniques d'actualités afin d'exposer les méthodes qu'emploient les journalistes afin de créer et maintenir un effet de neutralité tout en maintenant une ligne dramatique capable d'assurer l'intérêt des auditeurs vis-à-vis de leurs reportages. Jusqu'à présent, très peu d'études, voire aucune, ont été publiées à partir d'une perspective ethnométhodologie afin d'analyser les reportages radiophoniques d'actualités. Ce mémoire vise donc à combler cette lacune identifiée dans la littérature. Six méthodes journalistiques y sont principalement décrites et analysées : (a) l'utilisation d'énoncés d'autres locuteurs, (b) la pré-formulation des énoncés d'autres locuteurs, (c) la création d'oppositions, (d) le positionnement de soi et des autres, (e) la distance discursive, et (f) la création d'un effet visant à montrer qu'on « est sur la scène » des événements.

Mots clés : Ethnométhodologie (EM) ; Analyse de conversation ; Reportage radiophonique d'actualités ; Méthodes journalistiques.

Abstract

On February 15, 2003, peaceful protests erupted around the globe to protest the then-imminent war against Iraq. This thesis project grew out of an observation that news coverage of the protests varied greatly. It takes ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA) as its theoretical underpinnings in its analysis of three radio news stories, two from National Public Radio (United States of America) and one from the Canadian Broadcasting Association. Specifically, CA is used to examine the radio reports to lay bare practices employed by the journalists to create and maintain their own effect of neutrality and at the same time to render their stories more dramatic and interesting to the listener. This work's contribution lies in the fact that very little, if anything, has been published to date using EM and CA to analyze radio news stories. The key findings are that radio news stories are modeled after everyday talk, in terms of their sequential organization and in terms of their participants' attending to the overhearing audience and reliance on membership categories. Six practices are described: (a) using other speakers' utterances, (b) pre-formulating another's utterance, (c) creating oppositions, (d) positioning self and others, (e) taking discursive distance, and (f) creating the effect of "being there."

Key words: Ethnomethodology (EM), Conversation analysis (CA), Radio news story, Journalistic practices.

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DEDICATION

This master's thesis is dedicated to Maxime Fox, who was with me during its writing. His arrival was the source of much joy and a one-year postponement of this project's completion.

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INTRODUCTION

In the early months of 2003, a storm of anti-war sentiment shook the planet as people from cities as far-flung as Kigali, Tokyo, Calcutta, London, Montreal and New York City gathered in the streets to shout their opposition to the American invasion of Iraq. Smaller demonstrations took place in January, while those on February 15 and March 15 were significantly larger. Indeed, generous estimates reported that 50 million protestors participated in the February demonstration (www.workingtv.com), while more conservative and more widely cited counts put that number closer to 10 million. Regardless of the exact figure, almost everyone agrees that these protests were among the largest organized demonstrations the world has ever seen.

I was among the thousands who braved icy weather and marched down the streets of Montreal on February 15, 2003 to demonstrate opposition to the invasion of Iraq. It was the first and only time I have participated in such an event, and I was not the only first-timer. The crowd was composed of people from all walks of life; the number of families participating with their children was remarkable, as was the "Granny Brigade," a group of older and very vocal women opposed to the war. I saw Palestinians brandishing anti-USA placards jumping on mail boxes in front of the US embassy to voice their particular demands while protest organizers worked to keep everything under control.

In the days following the protest march, while I was nursing a resulting cold and following the news coverage of the protests, I was struck by how journalists (and the people featured in their reports) talked about the event. It seemed to me that the nature of the news coverage in the United States, where much of my family lives, was different from what we heard in Canada. However, I couldn't put my finger on exactly what those differences were. The journalists in the reports I listened to all seemed to maintain a stance of relative neutrality in covering the event, but the overall impression I got from each was not necessarily the same. This fascinated me and sparked my interest for this master's project. This interest grew into a general exploration into how journalists do their work, as evidenced by the "traces" they leave behind, that

is, by the documents they produce: the news stories. As this thesis evolved, it became an examination of journalistic practices as evidenced by radio news report archives of the February 15, 2003 protests.

There are many approaches one could take to such an endeavor. For example, Fisher (1984, 1985, 1989) argues that narrativity is a lens through which all human communication can be viewed, and indeed, this could be bolstered by the work of Greimas (1970/1987). However, I was interested in how journalists are able to tell a story that is sometimes quite politically loaded all the while maintaining for themselves the appearance of neutrality. In addition, I wanted to let the documents speak for themselves, to see how it is that we as listeners know how to hear the radio news report as such, and how we hear the journalist's version of events in one way and not another. It seemed to me that my interest was hitting on something quite fundamental about how we communicate, and I found that ethnomethodology and conversation analysis offer the richest theoretical framework for this research project.

My research intention, then, is *to examine what can we learn, through the employ of ethnomethodological analysis and CA techniques, about journalistic practices as evidenced by one of the most mundane media occurrences, the radio news story?* To do so, I shall investigate how the radio news story can be considered as modeled after everyday talk.

I will begin with a brief literature review of research in this area before articulating my own research interest more specifically. This will be followed by the Theory chapter where I will consider the theoretical underpinnings of ethnomethodology and of conversation analysis. Next, I will outline the methodology I adopted as well as the steps I took in carrying out my research. My three analyses will follow, which will subsequently be followed by a Discussion chapter where I will synthesize my findings. The Conclusion will lay out some possible avenues for future research. I turn now to the literature review.

LITERATURE REVIEW: ETHNOMETHODOLOGY, CONVERSATION ANALYSIS, AND THE MEDIA

This chapter will provide an overview of the contributions of some ethnomethodology (hereafter EM) and conversation analysis (hereafter CA) researchers on media practices, with particular attention paid to the two strands of Sacks' (1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1984) research: sequential analysis of talk and membership categorization. This chapter will also lay bare a gap in the literature, concluding with an articulation of my research interest.

Sequential Organization of Broadcast Talk

CA researchers have shown much interest in analyzing media practices, in particular news interviews and the sequential organization of talk, especially question-and-answer sequences. The contributions of John Heritage (1985, 2005) have been significant in this area. Many other researchers have built upon this work. Some examples include Heritage and Greatbatch (1991), who explain the institutional character of the news interview; Bhimji (2001), who looks at the use of verb tense as a social tool of affiliation or disaffiliation in radio phone-in shows; Roth (2002) who looks at social epistemology and question design in news interviews; and Léon (2004) who conducts semantic analysis of question-answer pairs in French news interviews.

The work of Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) is of particular interest to me as it examines the production of talk for an overhearing audience, specifically looking at news interviews as a form of institutional talk. In the news interview, in contrast to ordinary conversation, speaker roles are institutionally pre-established. That is, the very fact that the speaker has been chosen for inclusion in the broadcast establishes that what he or she has to say is newsworthy. The choices of which speakers to include and how to position their utterances affect what the journalist is able to *do* in the report, such as present politically loaded statements while maintaining a stance of journalistic neutrality. I hope to demonstrate this in the Analysis and Discussion chapters.

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) discuss another, related difference of news talk from ordinary conversation: The journalist or interviewer typically maintains a position of neutrality vis-à-vis the truth-value of the information elicited from the speaker. Finally, they show that news talk is produced for an overhearing audience. For example, reporters generally abstain from producing typical receipt objects, such as "oh," that mark the newsworthiness of an item of information in ordinary conversation. This abstention positions the audience, rather than the journalist, as the intended recipient of the speaker's message. In my research, we will see several instances of precisely such production of talk for an overhearing audience, in terms of both a speaker other than the journalist attending to the listening audience, and the journalist (or news editor) structuring the report so that the listening audience hears it as a conversation.

Another concept that Heritage (1985) elaborates upon and that is significant for my research is the notion of formulating (p. 100). Formulating refers to the glossing, developing, or summarizing of a speaker's statements:

> Formulations advance the prior report by finding a point in the prior utterance and thus shifting its focus, redeveloping its gist, making something explicit that was previously implicit in the prior utterance, or by making inferences about its presuppositions or implications. (p. 104)

In my research, the notion of formulating will be somewhat inversed in that journalists of radio news stories often "pre-formulate" what the next speaker is about to say. In this way, they summarize or interpret a gist that is to come and thus influence how the listener will hear it.

Others have built upon Heritage's landmark article (1985) on news interviews. Clayman (1992) looks at footing and the achievement of neutrality in television news interviews. He uses Goffman's (1981) notion of "footing" to explain how speakers can position themselves or others as animator, author, or principal of what is said, or as any combination of the three:

> The "animator" is the person who presently utters a sequence of words. The one who originated the beliefs and sentiments, and perhaps also composed the words through which they are expressed, is the "author." Finally, the "principal" is the person whose viewpoint or position is currently being expressed in and through the utterance. (Clayman, 1992, p.165)

While Clayman was interested in footing *shifts* – that is, shifts from animator to author, for example – in the *interactive* context of news interviews, footing is a concept that is relevant to my research on news reports that are not interactive. For example, in reporting on a political figure, the journalist can maintain a certain discursive distance, thereby giving the impression of journalistic neutrality by indicating that he or she is simply the animator of an utterance for which the political figure is the principal and author (e.g., "He said, 'Such and such'").

Hutchby (2005) similarly employs Goffman's (1981) notion of footing and Clayman's notion of neutrality in his application of conversation analysis techniques to broadcast talk. However, he acknowledges a lack in the literature on monologic talk, which is probably the most common form of talk on broadcast radio.

Membership Categorization

The sequential organization of talk is one of the two main areas of Sacks' research (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). The other is membership categorization. Membership categorization analysis (MCA, see Theory chapter), briefly, involves the mutual construction of identity in situation by interlocutors or speakers. If we take as given the notion that journalists (and often interviewees and other speakers) position the audience as the intended recipient of their messages, it follows that we may consider the listener as a silent participant in this construction. Put otherwise, journalists must rely upon their assumptions about the listener's shared commonsense knowledge, including membership categories, to make their news stories meaningful.

However, relatively little has been published on the topic of MCA and broadcast news, although this may be changing as MCA becomes somewhat more popular. Some relatively recent examples include Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) who posit that identity is negotiated through the interplay of sequential organization and membership category development in their analysis of radio phone-in shows. Housely (2002) also looks at this interplay in his article on "fudging the issue" in radio news interviews. Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) examine the presentation of stereotypes in televised debates in Czech media. They conclude that MCA is useful as a tool to examine how stereotypes are necessarily only relevant in their context of production.

While very informative, the authors listed above only consider *interactive* sequences in radio broadcast; they don't analyze the typical radio news story.[1] Indeed, it would seem that there is a relative paucity of EM and CA research that considers the radio news story. Very little has been said about how journalists (and presumably their editors and producers) manage to produce meaningful stories and to maintain a stance of neutralism. Admittedly, this lack is not terribly surprising given CA's main analytical focus on the sequential organization of talk; news stories do not fit this pattern. Rather, they are constructed after the fact, often including clips or sound bites from interviews with one or more speakers on a given topic, but these clips are divorced from the original context in which the interview takes place.

Ekström (2005) is one exception. He examines journalists' discursive strategies in the decontextualization and recontextualization of interview answers in Swedish political news reports. Admittedly, he does not employ CA techniques, but instead takes a discourse analysis (DA) point of view. Specifically, he identifies four strategies by which a journalist (or producer or editor) may alter the original meaning of an interview answer while

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[1] Indeed, we saw earlier that Hutchby acknowledges a lack in the literature when it comes to monologic talk. I would posit that the radio news story could be considered as monologic, given its edited, narrative nature. However, whether or not it falls into the category of monologic talk is perhaps inconsequential to the claim that CA and MCA fail to give substantial consideration to the radio news story.

maintaining an impression of formal neutrality. These strategies are: a) The reporter's voice reformulates the question that elicited the answer, b) The reporter describes the speaker's state of being when he or she gave the answer, c) The reporter offers generalizations or simplifications of the question, answer, or topic under discussion, and d) The reporter or editor splices together answers from different interviews to create an imaginary dialogue. I will borrow these notions in the discussion section of this thesis, following my analyses of three radio news stories

However, returning to CA and EM scholarship, if we are to accept and perhaps broaden Leudar and Nekvapil's (2000) conclusion that member practices, such as negotiated identity, presentation of stereotypes, positioning of self and others, and so on, are considered to be relevant only in the context of their production, such as in live phone-in shows, debates, and news interviews, what then, if anything, can be said about the radio news story, as seen through the lens of EM and CA?

Scannell (1995) tells us:

> If everything in social life is a performance in the sense that it has to be done, and has to be done in such a way that others will recognize what is being done (as being serious or funny or sincere or real or make-believe), then the doing of what goes out on radio and television can be studied in the same way as the rests of social life. (accessed on line, ¶ 22)

Indeed, as Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) point out, broadcast talk – and here I would include the radio news story – is produced for an overhearing audience. In other words, it is produced with the listener in mind as a silent participant in the conversation. We as listeners understand the story the journalist tells us in the report because both the journalist and we rely on our common understandings (our commonsense knowledge) of talk and of broadcast media. As Scannell (1995) puts it, "We watch and listen with a background assumption that everything about the design of any program is meant as meaningful" (accessed online, ¶ 23).

However, I posit that the listener attends to the radio news story as he does to ordinary, everyday conversation, that is, as sequential: Each clip or sound bite builds on the prior utterance. Indeed, we will see evidence of this in how the journalist sets up the report, for example, by splicing together clips from unrelated interviews to create the effect of a dialog. Furthermore, both the journalist and the listener rely upon shared understandings of membership categories in the telling of the news story. Indeed, most news stories, radio in particular, would not be terribly meaningful to us if they did not rely on membership categories and shared commonsense knowledge to describe events because their concise format precludes verbose descriptions.

My research objective, then, is to begin to fill in this gap, or at least to explore whether the gap can be filled. My research interest centers around what we can learn about this commonsense knowledge from the practices embedded in the radio news story. *That is, what can we learn, through the employ of ethnomethodological analysis and CA techniques, about journalistic practices as evidenced by one of the most mundane media occurrences, the radio news story?*

The discussion of my analyses will involve notions borrowed from Heritage: the institutional nature of broadcast talk (Heritage, 200; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991), broadcast talk as produced for an overhearing audience, (Heritage, 2005; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991), and formulating (Heritage, 1985); from Clayman (1992) and Goffman (1981): footing and neutrality; as well as from Ekström: decontextualization and recontextualization of news interview answers. It is my hope that this research will demonstrate that the radio news story is a rich research object for ethnomethodological and CA investigation. In particular, I hope to lay bare some of the common strategies employed by journalists to make their stories meaningful and dramatic, all while creating an impression of journalistic objectivity or neutrality.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

How do social actors know how to understand a news story, both those actors who create a news story and those who listen to it? How do those who create it manage to make it intelligible for the target audience, the radio listener? How do journalists manage to tell a story, sometimes a politicized version of a story, and at the same time create the impression that they are neutral? How is that diverse news stories of the same event can portray it differently or similarly? Furthermore, how can we get at answering any of these questions simply from the documents themselves, the radio news stories?

These are some of the questions this thesis explores, and I set out now to lay a theoretical framework to inform this endeavour. My approach is a hybrid one, drawing mainly from ethnomethodology and its close relative (some would call it a sub-branch): conversation analysis. When possible, I will try to make connections with my research object to either render a concept clearer or to show how and why these theoretical choices are applicable and appropriate to my research object.

Ethnomethodology

What Is Ethnomethodology?

Kenneth Leiter (1980) described ethnomethodology as the study of commonsense knowledge, or "the study of how the typifications of the stock of knowledge are brought into play through the practices of commonsense reasoning to create and preserve a sense of social reality" as a factual object (pp. vi; 25). More recently, Rawls, in her editor's introduction to Garfinkel's latest book, *Ethnomethodology's Program: Working out Durkheim's Aphorism,* defines the discipline simply as the "study of the methods people use for producing recognizable social orders" (2002, p. 6). As for Ten Have, he claims that ethnomethodology is committed to "explicating the ways in which collectivity members create and maintain a sense of social order and intelligibility in social life" (2004:14).

From the commonalities of this short sampling of definitions, we can conclude that ethnomethodology is concerned with the methods by which people create and maintain a sensible social world. By sensible, I mean intelligible to them and to other actors. Key to this broad definition is the question of *how* people do the work of *making sense* of the social world, and of *creating* a sensible social world. Heritage (1984), in his much-cited book, *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*, claims that Garfinkel's (and thus ethnomethodology's) central question is: "How do social actors come to know, and know in common, what they are doing and the circumstances in which they are doing it?" (p. 76). To our definition, then, we must add that ethnomethodology is primarily concerned with *actions* (what actors are doing) in *situation* (their circumstances). This claim will be clarified in the section discussing ethnomethodology's assumptions. I turn now to a brief history of ethnomethodology and its roots.

Ethnomethodology: Intellectual Origins

Garfinkel Versus Parsons

Most scholars locate ethnomethodology as the brainchild of Harold Garfinkel. Garfinkel grappled to understand how people make sense of their social world, which allow them to create and sustain a particular sense of social reality. This was a struggle for him even before taking up his famous doctoral studies under Talcott Parsons (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p. 2). In particular, he grappled with the neoKantian conception of reality as being perceived through our senses, which implies that a thing-in-itself can never be known, it can only be perceived (p. 3). In other words, there is no reality "out there." Many scholars see Garfinkel's ethnomethodology as simply a reaction to Parsons' position that social actors are governed by social "facts," or rules, that are externally imposed by society and internalized to varying degrees by the actors themselves.

Garfinkel took exception to Parsons' reliance on conceptual categories and generalization. This deterministic view necessitates a conception of society as providing the social actor with the "rules" of conduct for action in any given

situation, which would require that the actor be "equipped with innumerable instructions" (Heritage, 1984, p. 111). The actor has limited agency under this conception and is relegated to being what Garfinkel calls a judgmental "dope":

> [In this model,] courses of common sense rationalities of judgment which involve the person's use of common sense knowledge of social structures over the temporal "succession" of here and now situations are treated as epiphenomenal. (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 68)

In other words, in this view, commonsense knowledge, the unfolding of any situation, and the social actor's agency are considered to beoutside the scope of what is of sociological interest.

Both this view of the social world and the neoKantian view of "no reality out there" could not, for Garfinkel, account for how human beings consistently experience the social world as orderly and meaningful, even in the face of apparent meaninglessness, or in the face of situations for which they could not have been given *a priori* rules that indicate how to perceive those situations. To Garfinkel, it seemed there must be much more to it, and the "much more" was to be found in commonsense knowledge and actor agency (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p. 3). Indeed, Garfinkel insisted on detailed description of situated empirical detail

Phenomenology

Garfinkel's concern with commonsense knowledge and action was largely informed by the contributions of phenomenological philosopher Alfred Schutz. These include a focus on the processes of sense-making that members of a collectivity employ to construct their social world (Leiter, 1980, p. 5). In other words, Schutz called for an end to the consideration of the layperson's perspective as a residual of the realm of sociological enquiry (p. 15). Rather than a sole focus on the idealization and typifications constructed and employed by the social science researcher in explaining "how things work," Schutz was interested in how *members of a collectivity* know how things work and how *they* employ idealizations and typifications in everyday life. Put

otherwise, he was less interested in what the social world means for the trained observer and more concerned by what the social world means for the participant. The answer, he claimed, lies in commonsense knowledge, which will be discussed in the *Assumptions* section of this chapter.

Garfinkel's ethnomethodology departs from phenomenology in its concern for the everyday world and the *shared* aspect of sense-making procedures. Whereas phenomenology is interested in the actor's point of view as explanatory of social order, for Garfinkel, "the actor's point of view could only be an artifact of social interaction" (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p. 13). The emphasis is shifted from individuals to scenes or situations (p. 24). Moreover, "while Weber, Schutz, and Parsons discuss idealized models of science and scientific rationality, ethnomethodology is geared to study the local accountability of *any* kind of practice" (ten Have, 2004, p. 17). We could presume, then, that "any practice" includes journalistic practices as they are embedded in a radio news report, where they are locally accountable to the listener.

Ethnography

Garfinkel's interest in *local* members' everyday practices in *local* situations, combined with his rejection of research methods that impose a researcher's preconceptions and predetermined theories onto a given observable phenomenon, meant that he needed a different way of doing social research. He drew on ethnography and its tradition of the researcher doing a detailed description of her situated empirical observations. This took EM one step further: If we assume that people employ their everyday commonsense knowledge to understand the world, and if we wish to describe and understand that process, then we as social scientists must also have or acquire the same commonsense knowledge as our study subjects, to ensure our understanding. Therefore, we must, in ethnographic terms, go native. I posit that the radio news story is an excellent object of inquiry because the analyst (in this case, me) is also a "native" radio listener. What's more, the research object, the radio news story, is eminently accessible to anyone who listens to the radio.

However, ethnomethodology differs from ethnography in that it does not necessarily require the researcher to corroborate his conclusions with the study subjects. Indeed, such corroborations can simply provide new data regarding what the subject reports she meant rather than shedding light on the observations in question. Moreover, in ethnomethodology's view, we can never have access to an actor's intentions or motivations anyway. All we have is what is observable, and in my study, what is observable is the artefact: the radio news story. I turn now to ethnomethodology's assumptions.

Ethnomethodology: Assumptions

So what, then, are ethnomethodology's assumptions, core notions, and key concepts? In this section, I shall discuss the following: (a) actors' intersubjective experience of the social world as "out there" and ethnomethodology's indifference, (b) commonsense knowledge, (c) accountability and reflexivity, (d) indexicality, and (e) the documentary method of interpretation. Taken together, these notions constitute what Heritage (1984) identifies as the central pillar of Garfinkel's work: ethnomethodology's preoccupation with the reflexive accountability of action (p.109).

The Nature of Social Reality: How We Experience the Social World

There are essentially two ways of conceptualizing social reality. On the one hand, we can think of it as something that exists independently of our perceptions; it exists "out there." On the other hand, we can conceive of reality as existing solely through our perceptions: What we perceive is what there is (the neoKantian view that Garfinkel railed against). It is important to note that human beings, lay people as well as social scientists, *experience* social reality as existing "out there," and most of us in our everyday life do not question this experience (Heritage, 1984, p. 77). (We will discuss this in further detail in the section on commonsense knowledge.) Ethnomethodology is not concerned with proving which conceptualization of social reality is the right one; rather it is concerned with "the methods people use to create and sustain that particular

sense of social reality" (Leiter, 1980, p. 28). This is often referred to as ethnomethodology's indifference (Leiter, 1980; Heritage, 1984).

As Rawls puts it, the objective perception of social reality as "out there" is witnessed through recognizable "movements and actions" on the part of participants in a given social context, and these movements and actions "must be recognizable to others as [the actions they are intended to be], in order for social processes to have any coherence, or intelligibility, for participants" (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2002, p. 21). Indeed, our experience of social reality is *intersubjective* because these actions must be mutually intelligible; participants co-ordinate their social work, or their actions, to construct and maintain this sense of social reality. How this is done is ethnomethodology's central concern.

Commonsense Knowledge

Key to understanding how social participants coordinate their actions to create and maintain a sense of the social world as orderly and predictable, as "out there," is the concept of commonsense knowledge as developed by Schutz. According to Leiter (1980), Schutz discussed three phenomena of commonsense knowledge.

The first, the *stock of knowledge at hand*, includes social types or idealizations of people, things and events, which serve as points of reference. For instance, most journalists describing the February 15, 2003 protests rely on a certain shared notion of the typical, somewhat "radical" protester against which they contrast the actual protesters who participated. Heritage (1984) explains this concept as Schutz's proposal that idealizations and typifications (second order constructs) are unavoidable; they are simply the analytic apparatuses upon which we all rely (p. 77). Significantly, this is an unavoidable constraint of language itself. Language is by its nature referential, indexical. We cannot coherently communicate without making reference to general concepts when we discuss particular instances. I can say that I have an apple and you understand what I am referring to without my needing to say, "This particular edible fruit that I have is red, was grown on a tree, and might

taste tart or sweet, an so forth." You don't need me to describe the particular instance of "apple" to which I am referring because you understand that it belongs to the conceptual type *apple*. Indeed, communication would be too cumbersome to be useful if we could not rely on such typifications. This stock of knowledge at hand is *socially derived*: We learn it from others and know that it existed prior to our existence. This is in keeping with our experience of social reality as persistent over time and independent of ourselves. This knowledge is also *socially distributed*: Nobody can know all things, which is one reason why we rely on experts to explain the things we don't know. Furthermore, knowing where to get the information that we don't know is part of the stock of knowledge. Finally, typifications do not have a fixed meaning; rather, they are context-dependent. Hence, if I say, "I have an Apple," and we are in a computer store, you will likely not interpret this to mean that I am referring to a fruit, but that I have a Macintosh computer.

The second phenomenon of commonsense knowledge is that social actors have a natural attitude to daily life, taking the social world, including commonsense knowledge, as factual, or as actually being just as it is experienced, in other words, that it is "out there." This means that we don't ordinarily question the world as we experience it unless we experience evidence to the contrary.

Finally, the third phenomenon of commonsense knowledge is what Schutz proposed as the reciprocity of perspective (Heritage, 1984, p. 77). It holds that the intersubjective experience of social reality as given or as factual is accomplished because actors assume that what they know is shared by others, or that others have the same perspective as they do, and they work to sustain this assumption. Furthermore, shared commonsense knowledge and the experience of the facticity of social life are so taken for granted that they are practically invisible to social actors. This was the motivation behind Garfinkel's famous breaching experiments, wherein he put subjects in positions where they experienced "evidence to the contrary." (I will not discuss

these breaching experiments here. For more information, please see Garfinkel, 1967; and Heritage, 1984.)

However, I will mention the two relevant conclusions that Garfinkel came to through this series of breaching experiments, as discussed by Heritage (1984). One is the notion of accountability, which is related to the notion of the reciprocity of perspectives: Actors "share, rely on sharing, and trust one another to implement common methods or procedures" by which their circumstances and constituent actions are evaluated (Heritage, 1984, pp. 99-100). If their actions deviate from these shared procedures, the normativeness of these procedures is revealed, and the deviant actions are seen to be departures from the norm, which are "sanctionable." Here we see that commonsense knowledge informs how social, "moral" rules are made meaningful by actors *in situ*.

Secondly, when participants experienced "evidence to the contrary," that is, breaches of the norm, they demanded an explanation by the particular researcher for the particular situation in question. This led Garfinkel to conclude that social meaning is *context-dependent* and *context-generated*. This means that the ethnomethodologist must study actions *in context* to understand their meaning. In terms of my research project, this means that in order to understand what journalists do in radio news stories and, more importantly, *how* they do it, one can examine the actual news reports themselves, especially considering that the most important context that for the radio news story is the broadcast itself. (I will discuss this in more detail in the section on conversation analysis.)

Actions, Accounts, Accountability, Reflexivity, and Indexicality

I turn now to the notions of accountability, reflexivity, and indexicality, which in ethnomethodology are conceptually bound together in an overall approach to explaining *how* people *do* talk and, more specifically, what they are doing when they talk. As we saw in the earlier section, what is essential to ethnomethodology's *propos* is that one of the main things people do, or

accomplish, through talk is create and maintain a sense of an "objective" social reality.

This is done through the descriptive *accounts* people use to observe and report on social reality. Accounts, then, are the means by which we know and describe our social world. They are *descriptions*, and in this sense can be experienced as objective, and yet they are also at the same time more than descriptions because they "form [a] perceptual aid for assigning/finding meaning in objects and events" (Leiter, 1980, p. 161); in other words, accounts help us to mutually construct and maintain of our sense of the social world as objective.

Garfinkel claims that social actors understand a given scene (or situation) as a series of unfolding actions. For example, I greet you (Action 1) and in return you either greet me or not (Action 2). In this way, we understand our actions as "reflexively [contributing] to the sense of the scene" (Heritage, 1984:104). I understand my initial greeting to you as the opening of a sequence of meaningful, situated actions.

In order for actors to maintain a sense of reciprocity of perspectives, they must design their actions to be mutually intelligible so that their sense or meaning is readily understandable or at least "explicable on demand" (ten Have, 2004, p. 19-20). This is what Garfinkel meant by the accountability of actions. I designed my greeting to be understandable to you *as a greeting*, and I trust that you share the same commonsense knowledge as me and thus that you are able to recognize my action as a greeting. It is so critical to social actors that their sense of intersubjectivity be maintained (so that their sense of the social world as factual be maintained), that they will sanction actions that "don't make sense," or at the very least, they will seek an explication. If you do not return my greeting, I expect there is a reason why you did not. Your action (not offering a return greeting) is *accountable*. If you do not give me a clue as to why you did not greet me, I will refer to my commonsense knowledge to come up with a set of possible reasons that would explain why you did not greet me.

Reflexivity refers to Garfinkel's notion that the actions by which social actors manage and produce their social world (i.e., accounts) are the very methods they use for making the social world accountable (i.e., accounting practices) (ten Have, 2004, p. 20). Reflexivity in the ethnomethodological sense does not mean that actors are self-reflective regarding their actions; indeed in most instances, actions can proceed without the actors giving serious conscious thought to them. Rather, reflexivity refers to the situated, unfolding nature of actions. Their meaning is incarnate, inextricable from the situations in which they are produced. Our actions are designed to be intelligible, but this intelligibility is dependent on context. The context in which actors find themselves will in some way determine which actions are intelligible and how they might be interpreted by others (we saw this earlier with the Macintosh computer example).

The notion of *indexicality* is intimately bound to the notion of reflexivity. In the Parsonian model, the indexicality of language has to do with the correspondence between word and object, between "sign" and "referent" (Heritage, 1984, p.139). However, in Garfinkel's conception, it is the indexicality of accounts that is of interest. The indexicality of accounts refers to their descriptive function: They are referential and are understood by reference to where and when they occur. When I render an account of something, I rely on typifications from my common stock of commonsense knowledge. I refer to, or index, these typifications with the assumption that you my listener will be familiar with them. What is more, both I as the speaker of an indexical utterance and you as the hearer of said utterance, will rely on the context of production for clues as to how this utterance should be interpreted.

As Heritage (1984) puts it:

> Garfinkel proposed an alternative procedural view of how description works. In this alternative vision, he argues that the intelligibility of what is said rests upon the hearer's ability to make out what is meant from what is said according to methods which are tacitly relied on by both the speaker and the hearer.

> These methods involve the continual invocation of commonsense knowledge and of context as resources with which to make definite sense of indefinite descriptive terms. (p. 144)

In terms of this research project, we can consider that a journalist will produce his report (or account or description or story) by drawing on his own stock of commonsense knowledge, assuming that the listener shares this stock of commonsense knowledge. He is aware that he is accountable if his report doesn't "make sense," and thus he will design it so as to make sense. Furthermore, the meaning of his report is inextricable from the report itself (it is designed to be understood as a news story) and from the situation in which it was produced. Since we do not have access to the situation in which it was produced, we are left to examine the report itself to see the ways by which the journalist creates a news report that is understandable to others as a news report.

However, this is not as limiting as it might seem. I posit that the report itself is designed to be understood outside the context in which it is produced; unlike an everyday conversation, it is produced to be understood in a broadcast context where the audience member listens to a broadcast, mediated by technology and distanced in time and space from the actual moment of production. (I will take this up again in the section on Conversation Analysis.)

Documentary Method of Interpretation

Related to the notions of indexicality and typification is Garfinkel's notion of a documentary method of interpretation. It refers to the procedures (methods) by which we make sense of the world, in other words, the way we interpret. It is therefore at the heart of ethnomethodology's program. To avoid repeating much of what I have already discussed, I will cover only the new features of the documentary method of interpretation salient to this work.

Garfinkel tells us:

> The method consists of treating an actual appearance as "the document of," as "pointing to," as "standing on behalf of" a pre-

> supposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of "what is known" about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other. (1967, p. 78)

By "actual appearance," Garfinkel means an instance of an object, a "document." A common example used to illustrate is a chair. We understand a chair to be a chair because we have seen it to be a chair over time, or over successive presentations of the chair. Furthermore, the chair always remains a chair (there is no time-out from the documentary method) in the eyes of a social actor; otherwise it ceases to have meaning as a chair. In other words, we recognize a particular instance of a chair as belonging to the pattern or type, *chair*, despite the unique characteristics of the particular instance. Heritage (1984) points out that the documentary method of interpretation refers to social objects as well (p. 86). For instance, we may recognize someone as demonstrating the "typical" characteristics of "punk" or of "protester" by drawing on our shared stock of common knowledge. This is especially relevant to this study examining how news stories about a massive social protest are created and understood.

Finally, "the solution to the ethnomethodological problem of social order is that facticity is socially produced through methods of interpretation used to observe and report events" (Leiter, 1980, p. 159). If ethnomethodology is interested in the methods people use everyday to make sense of and create their intersubjective social world, and if the news story is designed to observe and report events as factual, it follows then that the news story is an ideal object for ethnomethological study. I turn now to a branch of ethnomethodology that has struck out on its own, but that continues strong ties to EM and that is very useful to my investigation: conversation analysis.

Conversation Analysis

Background and Basics

Harvey Sacks is generally recognized as the father of conversation analysis. Influenced by Erving Goffman and by Garfinkel, he was keenly interested in the "rules" governing everyday, ordinary conversation. He is often critiqued for being too deterministic in his approach precisely because *rules* can imply that actors have diminished agency, which would consequently imply a departure from ethnomethodology's focus on members' methods as practiced in situation. However, Sacks' defenders argue against this interpretation, explaining that Sacks sought to make explicit the unspoken rules that members employ in interaction and that are observable in interaction. They are always members' rules. In this way, CA can bee seen as an extension of ethnomethodology's focus on explicating the methods members use to make sense of the social world, in this case through conversational interaction.

There are two main strands to Sacks' work in CA: sequential analysis and membership categorization analysis, or MCA. While they have been rather separated conceptually by those who picked up CA's mantle after Sacks' early death, and despite the fact that MCA has fallen somewhat out of fashion, both strands are helpful for my research.[2] Sequential analysis is useful to my work insofar as it is an integral part of CA. I will therefore discuss it in a general section devoted to CA, whereas MCA will be treated in its own section.

CA's Links to Ethnomethodology

Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) explain that CA's central focus was never on the organization of talk, as might be suggested by its name, but on the organization of meaningful conduct of people in society. They write, "The core analytic objective is to illuminate how actions, events, objects, etc., are produced and understood rather than how language and talk are organized as analytically separable phenomena" (p. 65). Here then we see that CA, like ethnomethodology, is concerned with social action, or with what people *do*. As

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[2] Furthermore, MCA is making a comeback (see Silverman, 1998).

Pomerantz and Fehr put it, "the sense or intelligibility of an action is provided for by its location in an ongoing series of actions" (1997:67). Social meaning is assumed to be produced and understood locally, by participants. What CA brings to ethnomethodology, according to ten Have, is "a set of sharp instruments to bring to the fore detailed features of the production of social order" (2004:25).

CA's Assumptions

Many of CA's assumptions stem from ethnomethodology. The core assumption of conversation analysis is that everyday conversation is the foundation of social life and social institutions. As Schegloff puts it:

> Conversational interaction may then be thought of as a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done – institutions such as the economy, the polity, the family, socialization, etc. It is, so to speak, sociological bedrock. (Schegloff, in Drew, 2005, p.74)

As such, conversation is the benchmark against which other forms of talk, more institutional or more formal, is to be compared. The case can be made, then, that radio news stories are a valid research object for conversation analysis (see Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997, p.70).

Heritage (1984), who, along with Pomerantz, studied with Sacks and has also done much to advance the field since Sack's death, claims that CA has three other fundamental assumptions:

> 1. interaction is structurally organized; 2. contributions to interaction are contextually oriented; and 3. these two properties adhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant. (p. 241)

The first assumption is in keeping with ethnomethodology's concern for the methods used by members to create an intersubjective social world. CA looks for the patterns of stable, recurrent structural features that are observable

in interactions, patterns that members employ to maintain intersubjectivity. This means that CA is not concerned with the psychology of particular speakers; the analyst is not interested in a particular speaker's motives. In this way, CA is interested in *universal* patterns. For example, the turn-taking or sequential organization of talk, whereby participants take turns holding the conversational "floor," is observable across cultures. In a similar vein, in terms of radio, I posit that both listeners and producers (journalists, editors, etc.) attend to the same members' methods when making sense of the radio news story, and that these methods have, as their structural basis, everyday conversation (more on this in a moment).

The second assumption holds that participants' contributions to interactions are doubly contextual in that they are context-shaped and context-renewing. Context-shaped implies that interactants' contributions to an interaction (i.e., their utterances) can only be understood by referring to the context in which they are produced. This is a "major, and unavoidable, procedure which hearers use and rely on to interpret conversational contributions and it is also something which speakers pervasively attend to in the design of what they say" (Heritage, 1984, p. 242). Pomerantz and Fehr explain that speakers and hearers need to attend to the type of occasion in which the interaction takes place, who is interacting with whom, where and when (1997). In this way, we intuitively know that it is inappropriate for a student to speak "out of turn" when a professor is giving a lecture, but understand that interrupting may be entirely appropriate in a "brainstorming" session at work. Participants' interactions are context-renewing in that each contribution will shape what can come next; context is continually produced in talk or is "talked into being" (Heritage, 1984).

Insofar as my research is concerned, the producers and the listeners of radio talk will attend to the *broadcast context* of radio, that is to say, its context *as designed for broadcast*. I posit that much of what a journalist does in a news report is describe in detail the context of the event he or she is reporting on so that it is intelligible to the listener. More importantly, in so doing, he or she is

attending to the context of the listener who is tuned in. In this way, the radio listener is positioned by the journalist (or radio producer or editor) as a silent participant in an ongoing "conversation" (See Heritage's work: 1985, 2005 on news interviews as institutional talk designed for an overhearing audience). Furthermore, the radio listener understands the journalist's work as being produced for broadcast, as being designed so as to be intelligible to the listener. What I am interested in, then, is how this is done as is evidenced in and by the news stories themselves.

The third assumption holds that interaction is structured and that it is contextually shaped and renewed in conversation, therefore, no detail is unimportant and there is *no time-out*. A slight pause before uttering a certain word can be meaningful to both the speaker and the listener, and the conversation analyst must attend to the conversation – or the data itself – to provide clues as to what is important. It follows then that the conversation analyst cannot generalize or typify her data *a priori* (Heritage, 1984). For a given action, the analyst looks for the relevance to the interacting participants based on actual empirical recordings rather than "idealized" and predetermined categories (Heritage, 1984). In each of my radio clips, then, I will look for what is meaningful, as indicated in the clip by the participants themselves.

Membership Categorization Analysis

In the preceding section, we saw the importance of context to understanding members' conduct. Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) tell us that:

> Rather than treating the identities of the participants, the place, the occasion, etc. as givens, conversation analysts and ethnomethodologists recognize that there are multiple ways to identify parties…[and] that [members'] conduct helps to constitute the identities of the participants, the type of occasion, etc., as they are. (pp. 69-70)

Sacks himself was interested in the mechanisms, or the "machinery," by which members work to identify actors through the use of categorization. He called this branch of inquiry membership categorization analysis, or MCA.

MCA's link with ethnomethodology lies in Sacks' claim that people rely on their *commonsense knowledge,* and use shared methods, "to produce activities as observable and reportable. As it turns out, among these methods are ways of generating categories in order to make sense of particular events" (Silverman, 1998, p. 74).

One much-used illustrative example is the following: "The baby cried, the mommy picked it up" (Silverman, 1998). If we were to rephrase it as, "The X cried, the Y picked it up," most people would easily fill in X with "baby," rather than horse or garbage man or some other such "nonsense," because we know that babies belong to a category of people who cry to be picked up. Similarly, we are likely to fill in the Y with *mommy* or *daddy* because these belong to the category of people for whom the response action to a crying baby is to pick it up and comfort it. We are equally unlikely to fill in the Y with *horse* or *garbage man*. Furthermore, were the example to be rephrased, "The baby X'ed, the mommy Y'ed," most people would fill in an activity "typical" to the category *baby*, such as crying or cooing, and then would fill in a typical response action for the mommy, such as picking it up or smiling. Similarly, we are unlikely to assume that the baby washed the floor or told a joke, because these activities are not associated with the category *baby*. It just "doesn't make sense" that a baby would engage in these activities.

The example illustrates how members employ shared commonsense methods to understand the identity, or category membership, of a person or object being described, and these methods consist of referring to identifying traits that classify the given person or object among a category of similar persons or objects.

Insofar as my research is concerned, categories are nearly always invoked by a journalist describing an event. Silverman (1998) writes, "Of course, one only has to read accounts of the 'same' event in two different

newspapers to realize the large number of categories that can be used to describe it" (p. 78). Fortunately for my research, this means that different accounts of the same event provide a fertile ground for membership categorization analysis.

If we recall ethnomethodology's understanding of the referential or indexical nature of language, we will see that it would be impossible for the journalist to do his job if he were not to invoke categories because he cannot describe every little detail of a given situation or event. Moreover, the sense of the social world would not cohere if we did not employ categorizations, or to use Schutz's term, *typifications*. Importantly, Sacks says categories are not be taken as a given by the social science researcher. Rather, one must look at how people choose between and invoke particular categories in interaction (Silverman, p. 77). To do so, one must comprehend the "rules" people commonly understand and employ when creating the social world through interaction.

Membership Categorization Device, or MCD

According to Silverman (1998), Sacks explains that we know how to connect the categories *mommy* and *baby* together because we know they come from a collection of such categories called *family* (p. 78). Sacks claims that a *membership categorization device* is such a collection plus the rules of behavior that govern it, for example, that mommies pick up crying babies. Or, as Sacks put it, "A device is then a collection [of categories] plus rules of application" (in Silverman, 1998:79). For the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to discuss in detail all the different rules identified by Sacks. I will briefly discuss those that are relevant, following Silverman's discussion of MCD rules (1998:79-86).

Economy rule: While no one belongs to a single category (for example, one can be an artist, a woman, and a famous person), invoking a single category from any membership categorization can be referentially adequate (for example, *movie star*). According to this rule, in order for listeners to

understand to whom reference is being made, it is sufficient to refer to people marching for peace as *protesters*.

Standardized relational pairs: This rule applies to pairs such as mother-baby, husband-wife, etc. According to this rule, each party has certain standardized rights and obligations; each party can properly expect help from the other. A salient example is the notion of the standardized relational pair, politician-party supporters. Here, the understanding is that party supporters use their vote to elect a given politician and she, in return, is obliged to represent them in a democratic political system. If one of the incumbents of a standard relational pair is absent, this absence is observable and meaningful. We will see this again in my analyses of the London protests.

Collections R and K: *Collection R* refers to a grouping of standard relational categories "that constitutes a locus for a set of rights and obligations concerning the activity of giving help'" (Sacks in Silverman, p. 82). Again, we can consider that politicians rely on the "help" of their supporters' votes just as their supporters rely on the "help" of their politicians representing them in the political arena. Conversely, *collection K* refers to those who can offer expert help or advice regarding particular difficulties. Sacks was interested in this rule as an explanation of the relationship between callers to a suicide help line and those able to provide professional help. In terms of my study, journalists sometimes refer to "expert" sources to explain a particular complexity of a given event, such as opinion polls, etc.

Category-bound activities: This rule has to do with activities that imply identities. As Silverman (1998) explains, "If we know what someone's identity is, we can work out the kinds of activities in which they might engage. Similarly, by identifying a person's activity [...] we provide for what their social identity is likely to be" (p. 83). As regards the London protests, what was exceptional, according to many journalists' accounts, is that most of the participants did not hail from the typical categories. In this sense, their breaking the category-bound activity rule was very significant to the meaning of the event itself.

Viewer's maxim: If a member sees a category-bound activity being done and if he or she can see it as being done by a member of a category to which it is bound, then the activity will be seen that way. For example, if journalists mention that the "usual suspects" were out distributing *Socialist Weekly*, they are not identifying who the usual suspects are, but if the listener is familiar with the category *socialist protester* or even *militant protester*, he or she will hear the activity "distributing *Socialist Weekly*" as being done by members of that category. This is particularly significant for my study because journalists can paint a portrait of an event from a certain perspective, or even bias, all the while maintaining for themselves the semblance of objectivity, simply by letting the listener fill in the blanks.

This brings me to a final word from Silverman about understanding MCA: categories are *recipient-designed*, that is, "any category [...] is not just haphazardly invoked, anyhow and anywhere. Instead, recipient design means that members pay detailed attention to the implication of using a particular category" (p.89). This is especially relevant to radio. We saw earlier that members pay attention to context as designed for broadcast. In the same way, they pay attention to how invocations of particular categories may be understood. This is not unrelated to what Heritage discusses as institutional talk designed for a listening audience (1985, 2005).

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has laid out the basic assumptions of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, the two, related theoretical pillars for this research project. We have seen, in the ethnomethodology section, that actors work together to construct and maintain a shared sense of the social world and that they do so through their accounts. Furthermore, they rely on assumed commonsense knowledge about the social world. This shared construction and maintenance of social reality is so critical to social actors that they are mutually accountable, or, in other words, they are sanctioned when their actions do not make sense.

This is related to what is outlined on the CA section of the chapter. Conversation is seen to be the foundation of all social life, wherein interaction is structurally organized and contextually oriented and context-producing. In terms of the radio news story, this means that the journalist is accountable for his or her account (i.e., it must make sense to the listener as a radio news story), just as he or she must necessarily rely on his or her assumptions about the commonsense knowledge shared with the listener, including membership categorization devices, in order to make the news story meaningful. Furthermore, the radio news story is sequentially organized, so the listener can hear it as a conversation of sorts. I turn now to the chapter on methodology to outline the steps I have taken in conducting this research endeavour.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction: History and Evolution

This project evolved from a personal interest in the peace protest before the latest war against Iraq. As mentioned in the introduction section, I participated in the Montreal protest on February 15, 2003, before the US-led coalition bombed and invaded Iraq. In the days that followed the protest, I remarked on how differently the details of the event were reported by different news sources, both at the local and international levels. This observation sparked my entire thesis project. My thesis was always intended to be an exploratory project rather than one whose aim was to prove or disprove a hypothesis.

The purpose of this section is to document as transparently and in as much detail as possible the evolution of the project, including my choice of subject matter, methodology and theoretical framework, and my data set. Finally, I will describe my method of analysis. It is imperative to point out that, while I initially began this project with attention to critical theory's claim of hegemony in the media, my research choices were ultimately and most heavily influenced by my desire to try my hand at methodological practices from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis.

Choice of Research Object

As mentioned, my academic research interest was fueled by personal interest. I noticed that the stories told in media coverage in the United States were different from the ones told by media in Canada. Furthermore, coverage varied across media outlets in the same country: Fox News in the U.S. told a different story than National Public Radio. I became fascinated by these differences, especially those between countries. I had a hunch that coverage would depend on each country's political stance regarding its involvement in the attack on Iraq. I became quite interested in critical theory and the concept of hegemony in the media. Initially, I wanted to look at whether or not there was a correlation between a country's involvement in the war and how its

media covered stories about the protesters. I had to figure out how to acquire the data for comparison. I chose not to analyze newspaper coverage primarily because so many media content studies focus on this medium. However, I did need data that were readily available, so I went online.

I quickly found that most major private media outlets do not offer archived material on their web sites, and certainly not for free. I did find that public media outlets tend to have archived material on-line available at no cost, so this seemed to be the obvious choice. Furthermore, I felt that comparing media coverage across public media would also avoid the problem of comparing apples and oranges, such as could be the case if I were to compare public and private media coverage (although admittedly, public media vary greatly from one country to another, both in terms of financing, state involvement in content decisions, and journalistic traditions). Moreover, I thought, if there is a claim to hegemony to be made, it follows that public media, which receive public funds from government decision-makers, would be the ideal subject for investigation.

Choice of Dataset

I searched public media web sites, wanting to examine data from countries with different political positions *vis-à-vis* involvement in Iraq. I targeted France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada because the languages that I use and understand are French and English, and because these states each had a unique policy line. The United States and the United Kingdom were pushing the United Nations to halt weapons inspections and to move to offensive action. France took a decided stand against military action at the U.N. Security Council meetings. Canada, without a vote on the Security Council, took a more moderate stand that did not support the American position of wanting to invade.

Once these countries were targeted, I searched archives on public media web sites. The media selected were Radio-Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Canada, Radio France and France Télévisions in France, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the U.K.,

and National Public Radio (NPR) and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the U.S., through their umbrella affiliate, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). (Please see Figure 1.) I searched for records pertaining to peace protests between January and April 2003, before the war began, including both video and audio clips. I knew I wanted to try my hand at techniques used in Dr. François Cooren's laboratory, techniques stemming from conversation analysis, so I included both video and audio clips in my search, and I excluded the web pages themselves. Figure 1 shows the results of this search. The Y-axis illustrates the number of pertinent records, the X-axis, the different media outlets. The richest sites were the BBC and NPR.

In the end, I decided to analyze radio reports rather than video for the simple reason that they are simpler to analyze using CA techniques. This meant that BBC had to be dropped from the study, as did France Télévisions (which didn't have any archived material available anyway) as well as PBS. Radio-Canada was dropped from the study because none of their clips were functional on the site. Repeated requests to their webmaster confirmed that the clips are no longer available on the site. Calls to the archives department were equally fruitless.

This left CBC, NPR, and Radio France. I then needed to narrow down my dataset so that the radio reports from each would focus on the same event. It turned out that each had at least one report on the protests that took place in London on February 15, 2003. I found a total of five radio reports for analysis, two each from NPR and Radio France, one from CBC. In the end, however, I decided to leave out the Radio France archives, for several reasons.[3] My main rationale for excluding these archives is one of space; my analyses of the three archives from CBC and NPR turned out to be quite lengthy. The inclusion of two more analyses would have pushed this master's thesis beyond an acceptable length. Another reason for not including them is that their format is different from those of the CBC and NPR archives. Rather than a series of

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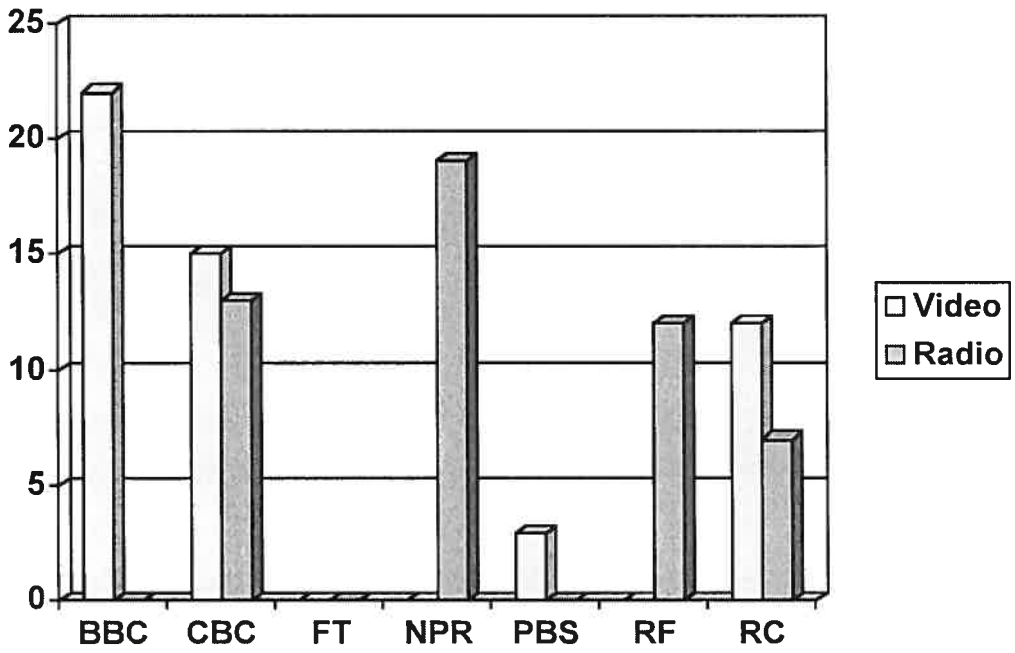
[3] These data would definitely prove to be fascinating to analyze and compare to the NPR and CBC archives. Ideally, I will examine these at a later date.

clips from different speakers that are spliced together to create a cohesive story (which is the format of the CBC and NPR stories), the Radio France archives are 55-second long "monologues" by the journalist. Furthermore, incorporating and comparing analyses in two different languages would also push this thesis project beyond a reasonable length.

Figure 1: Distribution of Media Archives



Video and radio archives are represented for each media outlet. Video is represented for each by the column on the left, radio by the column on the right. BBC = British Broadcasting Corporation, CBC = Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, FT = France Télévisions, NPR = National Public Radio, PBS = Public Broadcasting Service, RF = Radio France, RC = Radio Canada.

Method of Analysis

My methodology grew out of weekly data analysis sessions with my advisor, Dr. Cooren, and his other graduate students. Each of us would bring in some data and we would set ourselves to analyzing in detail what "was happening" in the data. These sessions were largely influenced by CA methodology and ethnomethodology. In essence, we were trying to get at what the actors were *doing* in the data. This entailed describing their actions. In this section, I will outline the CA techniques for data analysis (the premises behind these techniques are discussed in the chapter on theory).

Ten Have (2004) offers insight into the use of documents in qualitative research, such as the use of radio news reports:

> We can, on the one hand, use documentary evidence to make decisions concerning factual aspects of the events to which the documents refer, or we can consider documents as specimens of their type [this is the factist versus the specimen perspective]. In the first case, the focus is on the original events or whatever is being represented. The documents themselves are only a means to get hopefully adequate information about some reality external to them. From a specimen perspective, on the other hand, the focus is on the documents themselves, and on the ways in which they are actually being used. Whatever the perspective taken, it is always advisable to consider the production context and the projected audience and intended usage of the audience…In a specimen perspective, [the documents] may be interesting in themselves, as documents are studied as part of societal processes of documentation. (p. 90)

For this research project, I propose that both the factist and the specimen are relevant. Presumably, the documents – which of course are the radio news reports – are produced with special attention paid to how they will be received as accurate and authentic representation of actual events. In this

sense, we see that the producers of the documents (the journalists, editors, producers, etc.) attending to the factist perspective and to the need to create an effect of objectivity or neutrality *vis-à-vis* the events they cover. On the other hand, we as social scientists are interested in the specimen perspective as it pertains to these documents: How is the social process of documentation achieved through these records? What do the records themselves show us about journalistic practices?

Yet another facet to be considered when analyzing the radio report documents is what the researcher does with them. That is, how to render the radio recordings into a format that is easily analyzable by others and ourselves? The answer that EM and CA suggest is transcription. By meticulously transcribing the spoken word into written format, we produce a new document and are interested in how faithfully it represents the original document in question (i.e., the factual accuracy of the radio report). To this end, I will now discuss CA's transcription conventions before turning to Pomerantz and Fehr's (1997) recommended method for analysis.

Transcription Conventions

The transcriptions themselves should be treated not as the data, but only as a "selective rendering" of the data (Ten Have, 2004: 43). The goal is to capture and "translate" as faithfully as possible the details of the oral language. Gail Jefferson (1984) devised a set of conventions to help the transcriber reflect speakers' utterances, including pauses, elongations, and changes in pitch and speed, all of which may be important to the meaning of a given utterance in an interaction. The following are taken from Heritage, who in turn condensed them from Jefferson's work. (I do not list all of them because the radio news story format is edited so that overlaps and interruptions are minimized.)

(0.0) Numbers in parentheses indicated elapsed time in silence by tenths of seconds. [Typically, we indicate the time of lapses that last 0.3 seconds or longer.]…

(.) A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny 'gap' within or between utterances....

_ Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude...

:: Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The length of the colon row indicates length of the prolongation...

↑↓ Arrows indicate shifts into higher or lower pitch than would be indicated by just the combined stress/prolongation markers.

? Punctuation markers are used to indicate intonation...

< A pre-positioned left carat indicates a hurried start. A common locus of this phenomenon is 'self-repair'....

— A dash indicates a cut-off.

> < Right/left carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate speeding up. (Heritage, 1984: 312-313).

Another convention that I employed, but which is not mentioned in Heritage's glossary, is the use of "hh" to indicate an intake of breath. I turn now to the analysis technique suggested by Pomerantz and Fehr (1997), which I employed in my study.

Analysis Techniques

Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) offer five steps for conducting conversation analysis. The first is to select a sequence from a transcript. The next is to characterize the actions in the sequence. Thirdly, "consider how the speakers' packaging of actions, including their selections of reference terms, provides for certain understandings of the actions performed and the matters talked about. Consider the options for the recipient that are set up by that packaging" (p. 72). Fourthly, the analyst is to consider how timing and turn-taking allow for particular understandings of the actions and topics talked about. Finally, look

at how the way actions are accomplished implicates identities, roles, and relationships for the interactants. I will now discuss each of these steps in more detail.

Step one: Selecting a sequence: Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) recommend selecting a sequence in which what is of interest occurs. The authors suggest looking for identifiable boundaries in a conversation. In my case, the boundaries were quite clear as the radio reports are organized by subject matter. I had only to identify the radio reports, or the clips of radio reports, that dealt with the protests in London on February 15, 2003.

Step two: Characterize the actions in the selected sequence: This is the key link to the theoretical framework behind ethnomethodology, which is principally concerned with members' practices (actions) in situation. There are often different actions that are performed within a single turn, sometimes with several layers of meaning. In this study, I described what each speaker did with his or her turn. For example, in a single turn, the journalist may simultaneously perform the actions of introducing the next speaker, positioning the next speaker, and summarizing or interpreting the speaker's message, all the while working to maintain his or her own position of neutrality *vis-à-vis* what the speaker has to say. In fact, this is quite typical in reports where the journalist includes clips of other people speaking.

Step three: Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) list the next step as considering the speakers' *packaging* of actions, including the reference terms they choose and how they provide for certain understandings about the actions that are performed and the subject matter discussed. Here, the authors use the term "packaging" to refer to how a speaker "forms up and delivers" a given action. In this sense, "packaging" refers to the speaker's discursive choices in performing an action, but the authors are quick to point out that these choices may not be deliberate or even made at a conscious level. This step also includes considering the options for the recipient that are set up by that packaging. The important point to retain is that there are many possible ways to perform a given action, and that we as social actors are able to understand

how actions are performed due to our shared commonsense knowledge. Consequently, when we design our actions (consciously or not), we take into account how the recipient will potentially interpret them and, moreover, we set up options for how the recipient may respond.

Obviously, in an ordinary conversation, recipients will demonstrate their understanding (or misinterpretation) in their subsequent turn. However, in a broadcast radio news report, the element of immediate feedback is missing, and as analysts as well as radio listeners and members of a social collective, we must rely on our own commonsense knowledge to read into the speakers' packaging and their setting up of our options for interpreting action in a report. This is in keeping with CA's methodology wherein the analyst first describes how he or she as a social member understands a particular interactional sequence, and then analyzes it as a social scientist. The following citation illustrates the questions to which we ought to orient in our analyses:

> What understandings do the interactants display (and you have) of the action? Do you see the interactants treating the matter talked about as important, parenthetical, urgent, trivial, ordinary, wrong, problematic, etc.? What aspects of the way in which the action was formed up and delivered may help provide for those understandings? What inferences, if any, might the recipients have made based on the packaging?...Finally, what are the circumstances that might be relevant for selecting this packaging over another for the action? (Pomerantz and Fehr, 1997, p. 73)

Packaging is of ultimate importance to journalists. Indeed, it is the bread and butter of their vocation. Accordingly, journalists are intimately aware of their discursive choices because they are ultimately accountable for them in a way that one is not in an ordinary conversation: They speak on behalf of their employers, and if they make an inference that is too politically loaded or that contrasts with the employer's political leanings, they stand to be reprimanded or even fired. Over and above the general requirement to be

perceived as being more or less politically neutral (and therefore objective), journalists must be perceived as being neutral so that their accounts are received by the listener as "factual." Therefore, one of the actions that I looked for in my data was how the journalist managed to create effects of neutrality and objectivity in their actions.

Step four: Consider how timing and turn-taking allow for particular understandings of the actions and topics talked about. The authors explain that the ways in which speakers obtain their turns, time the start of their turns, end their turns, and select the next speaker are meaningful. Insofar as my research is concerned, how turns are obtained is highly orchestrated. Presumably, it usually happens in the editing suite and not in the interaction itself. However, who is selected to speak is of importance, as well as how the speakers are introduced, and I take this into consideration in my analyses.

Step five: Consider how the ways the actions were accomplished indicate certain identities, roles and/or relationships for the interactants (Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997, p. 74). Obviously, the journalist, as the primary presenter of information, maintains his or her role as storyteller and journalist by the way he or she presents information. However, identities of other actors (speakers and non-speakers) are also implicated through their actions and the actions of others, including the journalist. For example, Saddam Hussein and Tony Blair are often invoked and positioned in the radio reports, but they are seldom selected to be speakers themselves. Nonetheless, their presence in the reports is meaningful, and I discuss this in my analyses.

Conclusion

An analysis is much like a work of art, and one could continue to make final adjustments and interpretations ad nauseam. For my part, I did a first analysis of each of my transcripts and then discussed them with Dr. Cooren. He made suggestions and corrections, which I then incorporated into the analyses. Towards the end of this first round of analysis, I began to notice patterns emerging, and I then went back and combed through the data again to tease out more salient details. I fine-tuned these analyses and then summarized

my conclusions in the discussion chapter of this thesis. I turn now to my analyses.

ANALYSES

The Analyses section of this thesis is the culmination of the data gathering and the application of the methods as described in the earlier section. There are three radio news reports or stories that are analyzed, one each from NPR's reporters Nick Spicer and Emily Harris, and one from CBC's Chris Brown. Spicer's and Brown's reports focus exclusively on the protest in London, whereas Harris' report is part of a broader report on the protests in several European capitals. Consequently, only the London portion of Harris' report is analyzed.

At the beginning of each analysis, I have included the transcription of the radio news report. Each analysis is organized so that its corresponding radio news report is analyzed sequentially, that is, I analyze each news report, line by line, describing the actions that are accomplished (or as Dr. Cooren would say, "What is being *done*") by each speaker. These three analyses represent the final product of my analysis process; for the sake of brevity and more interesting writing, I culled my initial analyses, in which I examined as much as possible of each report in detail, trying to take into consideration anything and everything that struck me as relevant, in some cases, even those details that don't a priori seem important or meaningful. The information that was finally included is the result of a process of sifting to look for general patterns or tendencies, which I then discuss briefly in the conclusion of each analysis. These are then fleshed out in the Discussion chapter. Let us now turn our attention to the analyses.

ANALYSIS 1: NICK SPICER, NPR

Transcription

NS: This day of action was the idea of a handful of anti-globalization groups, (.) but through the Internet and word of mouth, it appears to have been the target of a popular takeover. Baby Delilah's hh stroller is pushed by parents Jeannie and Ed Sykes hh. They haven't demonstrated since their student days, but they're out toda:y to send a wa:rning to the man they both voted fo:r (0.3) Tony Blair.

ES: ((over background noise)) And at the moment, he's leaning towards the American (0.3) side of the a::rgument, (.) but I think the British people believe in (0.3) the (.) Ge:rman and French? position at the mo:ment. (.) And it could be political suicide? for Blair? at the end of the da:y.

NS: Polls show only seven percent of British people would support a war without a UN resolution. (.) hh Blair says he's ready to do without one, (.) but even then, (.) there appears to be skepticism in the public about what the real reasons a:re. (.) These high school kids seem to suggest it was all about President Bush diverting attention from his real problems.

UT: ((Chanting, to the tune of "If you're happy and you know it, clap your hands")) If the corporate world is growling, bomb Iraq!

GoP: ((Chanting)) Bomb Iraq!

UT: ((Chanting)) If you take a bit of shoving, bomb Iraq!

GoP: ((Chanting)) Bomb Iraq!

UT: ((Chanting)) If your politics are sleazy and the hiding's not as easy and you're not...

(1.5)

NS: But older, (.) probably cooler heads took a different view. Tony Costello is an old soldier (.) who's never demonstrated before. (.) He said attacking Iraq was like (.) taking a sledgehammer to a nut. hh Wearing his red paratrooper's bere:t and medals on his chest, he said he didn't go in for the conspiracy theories.

TC: I was a kid in the war, (.) at the '39-'45 war, and I can remember getting pa:rcels from the (.) Junior Red Cross of America, (.) and I've always loved Americans. I've got nothing against Americans. But like (.) yourselves and and us, we just seem to have got a bad bunch of politicians at the mohment.

NS: This protest movement brings together over 400 different groups united in a stop-the-war coalition. hh There were the regular demonstrators, trying to hand out copies of Socialist Weekly, but also lawyers↑, bishops, children walking their dogs and people in wheelchairs. hh Londoners Phil Calwell and Jane Hughes were also pushing their baby around.

PC: And and the fact is that nobody is in fear of of Saddam. Everyone realizes ((chuckling)) that he's an (.) an evil monsteh.

JH: What's the rush now all of a sudden? (0.3) Why so suddenly? (.) May-maybe the be-best thing that could happen toda:y is that Blai:r (.) is forced to take a vie:w (.) and forced to say, hh "I may have to step back a little. Public opinion is s::o strong and so overwhelming." Maybe that's the best thing that could happen t'day, that Blair is forced to say, "I have to (.) give this a second thought. I have to ask for some more time."

NS: On Monday, Blair hopes to persuade his European counterparts during an emergency European Union meeting on Iraq hh that they should rally round his position. hh But if any of them watched the streets of London toda:y, Blair may well have a tough sell. Nick Spicer, NPR News? London.

Analysis

Section described and analyzed: Lines 9-61.

This report on the protest in London was part of a larger report that focused on demonstrations in three European capitals: London, Berlin and Rome. The first eight lines of the transcript are of the news host, Steve Inskeep, introducing the reports and the journalists. This segment is not included in the analysis because not all three reports include such an introduction. Journalist Nick Spicer presents the London segment of the report. In this analysis, I will attempt to make explicit that Spicer employs several strategies in constructing his report, especially the drawing of oppositions and de/recontextualizing part of another speaker's utterance to serve his own narrative purposes. It will also be shown that he relies heavily on membership categorization, and on an assumption regarding the audience's familiarity with these categories, to create meaning in his report.

He begins the report on line 11, qualifying the protest as "this day of action," suggesting an organized activity with purpose. In other words, he qualifies the event as being a day that has been set aside by participants to gather and address an issue. He states that the event was the brainchild ("idea") of "a handful of anti-globalization groups," thus attributing the conception and organization of the event to a particular membership category of groups. In so doing, he qualifies the groups as being "anti-globalization," and positions the organizers as being small in number ("a handful") and as having purpose (it was their "idea").

The connotations of "anti-globalization" are disputed and can be somewhat pejorative.[4] For many, the term brings to mind a narrow swath of political activists on the extreme left or of violent protests outside World Trade

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[4] Some of the movement's members are pushing for the widespread adoption of alternative terms, such as "alter-globalization," "anti-capitalism" and "anti-corporate." These alternatives would underscore a nuance in meaning: The members are not opposed to closer ties between the peoples of the world; rather they are opposed to the negative effects of neo-liberalism or unregulated world markets. They posit that economic considerations be weighed against human rights, environmental protection, democracy, and economic justice (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alter-globalization).

Organization meetings or simply of a dogmatic world-view. It seems that Spicer is playing with the pejorative connotation by putting it in tongue-in-cheek opposition to the "popular takeover" (line 9). Spicer marks this opposition between the organizers' membership category and "popular" participation through his use of the word "but" in line 10.

The "but" indicates that he gives more credence or more weight to what follows the "but" than to what precedes it. More importantly, he tells us that the people have appropriated the event (we can infer that he intended "people" by his use of the word "popular"): The organizers might have intended that the event be exclusive, but it is no longer. This seems ironic when we consider that in all likelihood the organizers would be thrilled with such a massive turnout, so long as it remained peaceful and under control. However, Spicer says the people have "targeted" the event. This discursive choice indicates an offensive action, thus bolstering my interpretation that Spicer is intentionally setting up as oppositional the populous and the anti-globalization groups. He names the modality by which the event was appropriated: "the Internet and word of mouth," both of which are associated with grassroots movements.

The important question to ask is *what effect this opposition achieves*, even if we can't know what Spicer's intentions were. It effectively underscores the unexpected amplitude of the event. It also serves to sensationalize, creating dramatic, narrative tension and grabbing our interest. In addition, it defines the "regular" protest participants (including the event organizers) as marginalized by implicitly playing off the membership category *regular protesters*.

Spicer continues in an ironic register by naming an unlikely participant of this popular takeover: Baby Delilah. He describes Baby Delilah's parents pushing her stroller, likely as a way of indicating to the listener that the protest is peaceful; most parents would not put their infant in danger by participating in a potentially violent activity. In addition, it calls attention once again to the point he is discursively making: This is not your "ordinary" protest (if such a thing exists); it does not fit neatly into the category we might expect.

Strategically, Spicer remarks upon what is unusual to implicitly make his point.

He singularizes Delilah's parents by naming them (Jeannie and Ed Sykes) and tells us they are not regular demonstrators ("haven't demonstrated since their student days," ostensibly when most occasional demonstrators would partake in such events). He marks a distinction from their usual state of *not* demonstrating with the word "but." His elongation of the word *today* ("toda:y") puts emphasis on the exceptional situation that they are out today, which again has the effect of highlighting the overall extraordinariness of the event. Spicer attributes to them the intention of sending a warning to "the man they voted fo:r (0.3) Tony Blair." This is an example of Heritage's (1985) notion of formulating, only here, Spicer is reformulating the gist of what is to follow rather than the gist of a prior utterance. In fact, he is making explicit a warning to Tony Blair that is at best only implicit in the next speakers' clip.

By his use of the word *warning*, Spicer positions Jeannie and Ed as entering the register of cautioning or even threatening the British prime minister. In fact, we could thus see Spicer as setting up the entire protest as an offensive action on the part of the protesters against Tony Blair. By qualifying Blair as the "man they voted for," Spicer invokes a moment or a state of affairs in the past where Jeannie and Ed Sykes were once aligned with Blair (they voted for him). This serves to underscore another change in the state of affairs: Not only are they out protesting for the first time in a long time, they are doing so to declare their new status of non-alignment with Tony Blair. This effectively creates another opposition, this time between the past state of affairs and the present. In so doing, he underscores again that the demonstration is an exceptional event.

To summarize the analysis of lines 9-14, reporter Nick Spicer works to create an opposition between the level of participation planned by event organizers and the actual level of participation. He also sets up an opposition between Jeannie and Ed's previous and current states of alignment with Tony Blair.

We next hear Ed Sykes speak over background noise (lines 15-18). Ed's clip begins with "And." From this we can conclude he is continuing a previous utterance that is not part of the report. This, along with the background noise, lends to the impression of being there "on the scene." The use of this clip in Spicer's report gives the listener the impression of authenticity.

Ed evokes temporality, singularizing the present time ("at the moment"), and then describes Blair's current political position ("he's leaning towards the American (0.3) side of the a::rgument."), indicating that Blair's position is not a permanent or fixed state of affairs. Indeed, it is plausible that Ed might not protest at all if he did not think there was hope that the situation would change. Ed's desire seems to be to change the state of affairs (i.e., the lack of alignment with his political leader) that has led him to act. I argue that this interpretation is strengthened by Ed's saying that Blair is "leaning towards" one side of the controversy: Leaning towards one option means that a choice has not yet been made, but that one is likely imminent.

He pauses before uttering "side of the argument," which indicates that what he wants to say is dispreferred, perhaps to find words to express what he wants to say (Heritage, 1984). He stresses the word *argument*, thereby naming the controversy as an argument and placing Blair in an oppositional position to his own stance. In so doing, Ed confirms Spicer's earlier work of setting up the report as a series of oppositions. This is something we see often in news reports: The speaker's clip supports the journalist's claim or work in a prior utterance.

Ed then states his own position, indicating through his use of the word "but" that his stance is different from Blair's. He also changes footing from animator to author (Goffman, 1981) by saying, "I think," which functions to mitigate his statement, allowing the possibility of doubt as he positions himself as a spokesperson for what "the British people believe in." His verb choice is interesting; he could have said "support" or "prefer." However, his use of the verb "believe" (and furthermore, "believe *in*") introduces the notion of faith.

This choice, combined with the opposition he set up earlier between his position and Blair's, could be seen as him implicitly implying that Blair hasn't been able to convince the British people.

Subsequently, Ed identifies the British people's belief: "in (0.3) the (.) German and French? position at the mo:ment." He pauses before identifying the belief, again perhaps to emphasize what follows or perhaps simply to find the words to express himself. He finishes the sentence with "at the mo:ment," again invoking temporality, suggesting that he does not consider this situation to be necessarily permanent.

He pauses briefly before adding, "...it could be political suicide? for Blair?" The "it" can be understood as Blair's leaning towards the American side of the argument in spite of the British people's oppositional belief. Ed stresses the word "could," which marks a possibility, a conditional, or a doubt. By saying "political suicide," Ed implies that Blair is digging his own political grave. "Political suicide" can thus be seen as the consequence of the opposition he set up earlier (Blair as villain). In other words, Ed sees political suicide as something that Blair could be doing to himself through his unpopular political alliances. Ed finishes by saying "at the end of the da:y," again invoking temporality – in this instance, sometime in the future. Here, we see the implicit threat or cautionary message in line 12 ("send a wa:rning") come full circle: it appears that the warning could actually be in Tony Blair's own best (political) interest because it might prevent him from committing political suicide.

What is important to consider in reflecting on Ed Sykes' clip in Nick Spicer's report is what the clip *does* for the London report as a whole. Ed's clip spells out for us, the listeners, the different players in the controversy: the Americans and Tony Blair versus the British people, the French and the Germans. In this sense, we could say that Spicer (who ostensibly selected the clip from among others he recorded) uses Ed's words to fill in information for the listener as well as to give a voice to the members of the "popular takeover." He effectively uses Ed as a spokesperson and informant. By so using a member

of the crowd, Spicer creates a sense of "being there," which in turn creates an effect of objectivity: He is not simply reporting on the event, he is letting the event (of which Ed is a part) speak for itself. He seems to be presenting evidence or information to the listener so as to allow the listener to come to his or her own conclusions. Of course, the fact that Spicer (or his editor) made a choice regarding which clip to use reveals that this effect of objectivity is in fact constructed to some degree.

Spicer takes the floor again in lines 19-23, this time presenting factual information, again creating an effect of objectivity. Spicer reports on the results of public opinion polls, explaining that only a very low percentage (seven percent) of British people would support a war[5] without a UN resolution (lines 18-19). Moreover, CA tells us that we hear this utterance as relevant to the previous utterance because of its sequential organization. In fact, it does seems to be relevant: If only seven percent of those polled in Britain would support a war, then this information would indeed lend support to Ed's mention of Blair's possible political suicide. Here, we see evidence that the design of the news report attends to how the listener will hear it: as sequentially organized and, as such, similar in format to everyday conversation.

Spicer then changes footing to position Blair as the principal of the utterance when he reports that Blair is "ready to do without" a UN resolution. Spicer stresses the final syllable of "without," again underscoring the opposition between Blair's position and that of the British people (they won't support a war without a UN resolution, while he is ready to).

However, Spicer marks a distinction by his use of the words "but even then" in line 21: Even though Blair states his position, there "appears to be skepticism in the public about what the real reasons are" (lines 21-22). In other

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[5] As a side note, this is the first time in the report that the possibility of "war" is mentioned. Spicer could have chosen to say "military intervention" instead of war. We might be led to believe that this is a significant discursive choice on his part. However, we don't know if he was simply paraphrasing or quoting the opinion poll's terminology, therefore I don't think we can conclusively attribute this discursive choice to Spicer.

words, it seems that Spicer is giving greater weight (but not necessarily according greater validity) to what the British public is saying through the opinion poll than he gives to Blair's stated position. Spicer doesn't claim that there *is* skepticism in the public, only that there seems to be; he is simply reporting on what he or others have observed. Furthermore, he is not positioning himself as speaking on behalf of the public. In this way, he remains in an objective, neutral register as the animator but not the author or principal of the utterance.

Equally interesting is the subject of that skepticism: "what the real reasons a:re." By using and stressing the word *real*, Spicer invokes the notion of truth: If there were real reasons, we may assume that there were unreal or untrue reasons, and he seems to be saying that the British people think they have been given unreal or untrue reasons for Blair's supporting a war without UN support.

This is consistent with the debate at that time about the Blair and Bush administrations' motivations for wanting to invade Iraq. Their declared reasons were security-related: They claimed that Saddam Hussein and his regime posed a threat to the Iraqi people and to the world because Saddam Hussein's government was accused of possessing and hiding weapons of mass destruction. When UN inspectors could find no evidence of such weapons, the Blair and the Bush administrations moved towards military action without UN support. Many people, however, suspected that the two administrations had other, possibly less noble reasons for invading Iraq. These ranged from wanting to destabilize the balance of power in the Middle East to wanting guaranteed access to Iraqi oil reserves to wanting retribution for the September 11th attacks.

We could interpret that Spicer is making implicit intertextual reference to this debate and this is supported by his introduction of the next speakers: "high school kids" who "seem to suggest that it was all about President Bush diverting attention from his real problems" (lines 20-22). There is a lot happening in this phrase and I will break down the discussion of it into three

different components: positioning and introduction of the speakers, invocation of truth, and distancing work. The juxtaposition of the mention of apparent skepticism in the British public with the clip of the high school kids positions the latter as representing or voicing this skepticism. Moreover, by using the familiar term "kids" (rather than "students"), Spicer further positions them as young, and perhaps not to be taken too seriously. This positioning work also serves to distance Spicer himself from the interpretation he offers of the kids' message, namely that they seem to be saying "it was all" really about President Bush "diverting attention from his real problems." It is clear is that Spicer does not present their interpretation as factual or even as necessarily valid.

Spicer invokes the notion of truth by referring to President Bush's "real problems." He stresses Bush's name as though to mark a contrast with Blair. We can consider the stress on "Bush" and "real" to be the complement to Tony Blair's "real reasons" (line 22). I posit that one can interpret lines 22-23 in the following way: Spicer reports on the British public's suspicion that Tony Blair's support for a possible war in Iraq (without a UN resolution) is really about his support for American President Bush, who is creating a political diversion from his own (Bush's) real problems. I do not think that we can say that Spicer himself is taking this position or that he is the author or principal of the utterance; he seems to be merely the animator, reporting it as what is *apparent* to him. Spicer's bringing Bush into the report is evidence that he assumes a certain familiarity among his listeners with the intertextual debate mentioned earlier. This supports the conceptualization of the listener as a silent participant and member of a category whose members share the same stock of knowledge at hand (Schutz in Leiter, 1980).

I turn now to the clip of the high school kids in lines 24-30. They chant to the tune of "If you're happy and you know it, clap your hands," a nursery school song that is undoubtedly familiar to most listeners and that might be seen to insinuate that even a child can see Bush's "real reasons." Paradoxically, the kids' use of the nursery school song validates Spicer's previous work of positioning the students as "lightweight": They don't present

their message in a serious manner, although closer inspection of this message shows it to be laden with heavy insinuations. Indeed, the child's song underscores an implicit message: The choice to bomb Iraq is a misplaced, childish reaction to other, unrelated events (a "growling" corporate world, "a bit of shoving," the inability to hide sleazy politics), which we may interpret to be Bush's aforementioned "real problems."

The phrase "If the corporate world is growling, bomb Iraq!" (lines 24-25) positions the corporate world as predatory, menacing, and animal. The message seems to be: If threatened by corporate interests, divert the world's attention. While no specific mention is made either by Spicer or by the kids, one could speculate that implicit in the chant is the presumption that the corporate world is hungry for cheap Middle Eastern oil. This would be consistent with the "war for oil" accusations that were present on placards at protests and in dissident discourse during the Gulf War, and in the months leading up to the latest war in Iraq. That said, I reiterate that from what is presented in the report, we can do no more than speculate on this possibility.

In line 27, they chant, "If you take a bit of shoving, bomb Iraq!" The kids don't specify whom they mean by "you," but from Spicer's earlier mention of Bush, we may believe that Spicer interprets and communicates to the listener that the "you" refers to Bush. The "bit of shoving" is likely an intertextual reference to the September 11th attacks, in which case the kids would be seriously downplaying the gravity of September 11. Ultimately, however, we can't conclude with certainty that they are making reference to this event. Lines 29-30 see them chanting, "If your politics are sleazy and the hiding's not as easy and you're not…" One can assume that this line is a clear reference to corrupt politicians (trying to hide sleazy politics). What's more, it can even be seen to be insinuating that the two administrations who bombed Iraq (Bush Senior and Bush Junior) are corrupt politicians.

Spicer introduces the next type of speaker in lines 32-33. He begins the introduction with "But," signaling that the next speaker differs from the high school kids. He specifies this difference by saying "older, (.) probably cooler

heads took a different view" (line 32). Here, he employs the second strategy outlined by Ekström (2001), namely describing the speaker's state of being when he or she made the utterance. By saying "probably cooler heads," he is both implying that the high school kids are "hot heads" (i.e., rash) and he is giving greater credence to the next speaker, which effectively distances Spicer from the high school kids' discourse. The fact that he qualifies the description with "probably" tells us he is being somewhat ironic, and that he is also distancing himself somewhat from the next speaker, which serves to keep Spicer himself in the objective, neutral register all the way around.

He identifies the next speaker, Tony Costello, "an old soldier (.) who has never demonstrated before" (lines 33). Spicer reports on what Costello says and he describes Costello's physical appearance. Both of these actions render Spicer's report more present, more "on the scene." We can imagine Costello with his red paratrooper's beret and medals on his chest (line 35). We can imagine Costello with his red paratrooper's beret and medals on his chest (line 35). This description paints the portrait of the man, a hero of a certain generation, who has seen war firsthand. Indeed, "old soldier" positions Costello as experienced and patriotic, and as someone to be respected. By telling us that Costello has never before demonstrated, Spicer is emphasizing again that the peace march is extraordinary because it has incited people outside the usual protest categories to participate. Furthermore, by juxtapositioning Costello's clip against that of the kids' clip, Spicer is demonstrating again the amplitude of the event by illustrating the wide variety of people it brought together. Overall, this is another example of how heavily Spicer relies on the listeners' familiarity with membership categories to create meaning in his report.

In some ways, it seems Spicer is reporting that Costello concurs in part with the high school students in that he (Costello) says attacking Iraq "was like taking a sledgehammer to a nut," an inappropriate and unnecessary choice. If one's goal is simply to open up a nutshell or to verify if Iraq really does have weapons of mass destruction, there's no need for the use of extreme military

force. However, from what Spicer tells us, Costello does not imply that an attack on Iraq would be a response to unrelated events or situations (growling corporate world, a bit of shoving, sleazy politics). This is an example of what Ekström refers to as splicing. Costello never does say in his clip what Spicer says he does, so we see that Spicer seems to be glossing an apparent prior utterance.

He is clear, however, that Costello doesn't believe that attacking Iraq is a cover-up for something else ("he said he didn't go in for conspiracy theories," line 36). This is in direct contrast to how Spicer positioned the high school kids' clip as precisely suggesting that the Iraq affair is simply a diversion from Bush's real problems. Spicer indirectly frames the kids' position as stemming from conspiracy theory, which serves to discredit them. So again, we see that Spicer has set up another opposition in his report. It is perhaps significant that, as we shall see, Costello never makes any mention of this in his clip. In this way, Spicer acts as an interpreter and a reporter of what we are led to believe Costello has expressed, but which we do not actually hear for ourselves. It is another example of Spicer's de-/recontextualizing part of an utterance to serve his own purposes of creating an opposition in the report.

I turn now to Costello's clip (lines 37-41). He recounts his own experience as "a kid in the war, at the '39-'45 war." We can assume that he was not much older than the high school kids we heard from earlier. Costello shares his wartime memory of receiving "pa:rcels from the Junior Red Cross of America" (lines 38). He insists on his solidarity with Americans: He has "always loved Americans, he has "nothing against Americans." He invokes a state of permanent affinity for Americans and almost presents this love as a sort of gratitude for their generosity during his years at war. By saying he has nothing against Americans, Costello is clear that he does not intend to criticize all Americans; they aren't the reason he is out protesting. In fact, he positions himself as being very much in solidarity with Americans. He then marks a difference ("But") between this solidarity and the then-current political situation: "But like (.) yourselves and and us, we just seem to have got a bad

bunch of politicians at the mohment" (lines 39-41). He works to identify with Americans ("like yourselves and us"), insisting on the similarities between the two populations. Moreover, he implicitly recognizes Spicer as an American journalist and, thus, as representing all Americans. This is evident in his addressing Spicer as "yourselves" (plural). More importantly, it is also evidence that Costello recognizes that he is being recorded for an overhearing audience, supporting Heritage and Greatbatch's research (1991).

By saying, "We *just* seem to have got a bad bunch of politicians at the mohment," (italics added here) Costello presents the problem as simple to understand. Moreover, he doesn't present the problem as fact, but as his impression of the situation. This actually concurs with what the high school kids chanted in line 29: sleazy politics. Costello's phrasing of his interpretation is much less antagonistic than the high school kids'. By invoking temporality, he implies that this is not necessarily a permanent state of events. He lays the blame for the current situation squarely on the shoulders of the politicians, and does not globalize the issues to include the entire population of either Britain or the United States. In this way, we see that the earlier opposition that Spicer set up between Costello and the kids is not supported by Costello's clip.

It is again important to note that Spicer has made a choice to include this clip over other possibilities. It is conceivable that he even sought out Tony Costello as a spokesperson *because* Costello was dressed in military garb. Spicer may have thought that Costello would add a flavour and breadth to his report that a non-military, older man might not have done. That said, we cannot do more than speculate on Spicer's intentions in choosing Costello.[6]

In lines 42-47, Spicer is still in the descriptive register, painting an overall portrait of the event for his listeners.

Spicer mentions that the "regular demonstrators" were present. In this, we see his reliance on membership categories. He assumes his listeners know

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[6] On a related note, I point out that using pro-American clips from foreign nationals is something that I observed in other NPR reports of the February 15, 2003 protests, including other segments of this one. I did not observe this in other countries' media coverage.

to some extent whom these regular demonstrators are and, importantly, whom they are not. He gives a clue by mentioning their action: trying to hand out copies of *Socialist Weekly*. In this way, he tells us that the "regular demonstrators" are socialist activists who are performing a category-bound activity. He then defines whom they are not by marking a distinction with the word "but" (line 44). Clearly, he is telling us that "lawyers, bishops, children walking their dogs, and people in wheelchairs" are not members of the category *socialist activist*. By telling us that non-members were participating, Spicer is again underscoring the remarkable amplitude and inclusiveness of the event. In addition, he hints at the aforementioned "popular takeover" of the event by saying that the regular demonstrators are "trying" to hand out their ideological materials. Here, he is effectively positioning them as having difficulty getting their message across. He places the "regular," socialist protesters in contrast with the non-regulars, who seem to be generally regarded as pillars of society (lawyers, who could be seen as representing secular society, and bishops whom we can see as representing religious society), or as being harmless (children walking their dogs and people in wheelchairs). In this way, Spicer can be seen to be implicitly positioning the regular protesters as *not* being pillars of society and as *not* being harmless. Again, we see the strategy of creating an opposition to accomplish something, which is here to underscore the amplitude of the event.

He then introduces the next speakers by naming them, Phil Calwell and Jane Hughes, and tells us they are pushing their baby around. He also qualifies them as Londoners, which gives some context as to who they are and to which membership category they belong. In this way, he formulates how the listener ought to understand their identity.

Calwell's and Hughes' clips (lines 48-56) offer a wealth of material for analysis. Calwell begins with "And and," indicating that he is continuing a statement, the beginning of which is not included in the report. He positions himself as having a corner on the truth by making a factual claim ("the fact is…") He also positions himself as the spokesperson for everyone by claiming

that "nobody is in fear of Saddam" (line 48). He continues to speak on behalf of everyone by saying, "Everyone realizes that he's an evil monsteh." Calwell is the first person in the report to mention the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein.

The fact that Calwell refers to him by his first name indicates several things. Firstly, it indicates that Calwell (and Spicer by his choice to include this clip without further clarification) positions the audience as being familiar with this character. Secondly, it demonstrates a familiarity with the Iraqi leader that is common in media and political discourse surrounding the Iraqi leader: He is almost always referred to by first name. This level of familiarity denotes a certain lack of respect for a foreign leader; the American president is almost never referred to as "George[7]" and Tony Blair is never referred to as "Tony." The question to ask in reference to "Saddam" is what effect is achieved by referring to him by first name? I argue that it could be a discursive tactic that functions to position him as less than a national leader. Furthermore, as we see from Calwell's clip, it also serves to depersonalize him. He is no longer a person, but can be called an "evil monster," much like the villain in a children's story or even a pathological killer. The fact that Calwell chuckles as he claims Saddam is an evil monster may indicate that he acknowledges a certain ironic paradox: Being against the war could be interpreted as being pro-Saddam, which he is certainly not. He may also be making implicit and ironic reference to the "Axis of Evil" designation that Bush's speechwriters made famous after the September 11th attacks, which again evidences a certain intertextual reference to the broader debate about the war.

Hughes' discourse is more tempered and more reasoned. She asks why there is a "rush <u>now</u> all of a sudden? (0.3) Why so suddenly?" (line 50). We can assume that the "rush" to which she refers is the rush to war, the rush to take military action without UN support.

Out of all the "spokespersons" that Spicer features, I find that Hughes is the best spokesperson for the crowd. She outlines what she considers to be

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[7] He is on occasion referred to as "W," both with affection by his supporters and with disdain by his detractors.

the "best outcome" scenario for the day's events (the "be-best thing that could happen toda:y"): Blair is "forced to take a vie:w (.) and forced to say, hh 'I may have to step back a little,'" that he is forced to say, "'I have to (.) give this a second thought. I have to ask for some more time'" (lines 55-56). We can also consider Hughes' comments as representative of the participants' goal in demonstrating: to get their leader to rethink his position in such as way that it aligns with their own, that is, that he ask for more time for the UN weapons inspectors. (We also see here that many of the protesters are people who normally support the Labour Party; otherwise, they might simply ask Blair to resign.) Hughes conveys that the modality by which this change can take place is the strong expression of public opinion, which is presumably the motivation of the protest's participants. When Hughes says that it is desirable that Blair be forced to think twice about his decision, she positions the crowd and public opinion as being powerful enough to influence a leader. In terms of format,

Spicer brings his report around full circle with this last clip of Calwell and Hughes, a couple out with their baby, which complements the introductory clip of Ed and Jeannie Sykes and Baby Delilah. He closes out the report in lines 57 to 61 by describing projected events. He then reports Blair's desires: "Blair hopes to persuade his European counterparts during an emergency European Union meeting on Iraq hh that they should rally round his position." Spicer does not take any discursive distance from this statement; rather he presents it as fact. He also positions Blair as intending to persuade European leaders, rather than intending to dialogue with them. This nuance may be significant in that it positions Blair as having already made up his mind, while as we have just heard from Hughes, that many of the protesters hope that he is *not* entrenched in his current position. Furthermore, saying that Blair hopes they will rally around his position on Iraq indicates that Blair considers himself something of a leader in this situation.

However, Spicer's naming the European leaders as "his European counterparts" positions these leaders as Blair's equals. Furthermore, Spicer says in regard to the European leaders, "But if any of them watched the streets

of London toda:y, Blair may well have a tough sell" (lines 59-60). The word "but" indicates that what is to follow is not only in opposition to or different from what preceded it, but also more important in terms of consequences. In this way, we see Spicer creating a final opposition in the report, bringing the subject of the protest to a larger arena, that of international, political decision-makers. This has the effect of contextualizing the entire report and rendering it relevant to the overall intertextual debate to which I have made mention several times.

Finally, Spicer offers his own judgment or evaluation of Blair's chances of persuading other European leaders: given the large number of protest participants and the strength of British public opinion opposed to Blair's position, he may not be able to convince them to join him.

Conclusion

I turn now to an analysis of what is achieved overall in Spicer's report, including effects of objectivity, his choice of interlocutors, and the construction of oppositions in the report, all of which are very intertwined.

Strategy and Tactics: Spicer (or his editor or both) made choices about whom to interview and which clips to include. In this way, Spicer made editorial and discursive choices about how to portray the event in his story and whom to use as spokespersons for the event. I will now summarize what each speaker's clip *does* for the report. The first person who speaks, Ed Sykes, spells out who some of the players are in the larger issue (Americans, British people, the Germans and the French, Tony Blair). He also lays out (part of) what is at stake: Tony Blair's political career. The high school kids voice the skepticism of the British public in a very radical form. Calwell brings Saddam Hussein into the picture, characterizing him as an evil monster. Calwell also acts as a spokesperson for everyone. Hughes questions the temporality of the event, the rush to act. Importantly, she voices the participants' goal. Spicer's choice of these particular interlocutors enables him to paint an ecclectic portrait of the event, including the diversity of the participants. Interestingly, he does not choose to interview any of the event organizers. Rather, he

characterizes them as socialist radicals who fall into the "regular" category of "typical activist."

Spicer sets up oppositions throughout his report. These serve to heighten the dramatic tension of his story (protesters versus Tony Blair, Costello's cool-headedness versus the high school kids' brashness, the people versus the event organizers, Blair versus his European counterparts). I suspect these oppositions are common practice among journalists, as they are among storytellers.

Effect of Journalistic Objectivity: Spicer, like most journalists, takes pains to construct an effect of journalistic objectivity. Employing several techniques, he creates the impression of "being there," which works to let the listener feel as though what is being presented is what "actually happened," and as such must be true. One example is the background noise in his report. We hear the constant noise of the crowd, bullhorns, cheering, and so on. This background noise is laid under Spicer's apparently studio-recorded narration. His narration carries none of the distortion that would be associated with actually speaking from "on the scene." His voice is clear and calm. The fact that the two tracks are merged together is an obvious example of constructed objectivity: We, the listeners, are given the impression that the report is live, while it has obviously been edited.

He describes the event to us so that we get a sense of being there through his description. We can visualize Costello dressed in his red paratrooper's beret and decorated with medals, people walking their dogs, people in wheelchairs, people pushing strollers, and so on. We are told that the event brings together more than 400 groups of people. We can picture the socialist radical organizers trying to hand out their newspaper. All of these descriptions give us the sense that we are on the scene, that his report comes from his actually being there, and thus that it is more believable.

Similarly, Spicer allows his interlocutors to do the talking, to speak on behalf of the participants, which renders the account more vivid, more "live." It also allows him to put forward different, sometimes radical, views without

his needing to take a position. He simply presents these clips, while distancing himself discursively from them to add to the effect of journalistic objectivity. For example, we saw in line 22 how he positioned the high school kids who "seem to suggest." What they were suggesting was in fact quite politically loaded, and Spicer took pains to distance himself from this radicalism both before the kids' clip and in the subsequent introduction of the following speaker. He describes Costello euphorically: a war veteran who has been there and who is someone to be respected.

Finally, Spicer relies on factual information to render his account more objective. In lines 18-19, he reports on the results of an opinion poll. However, even here, he distances himself from any claim of the poll's validity, again underscoring his own journalistic neutrality and objectivity.

Intertextuality: We see that Spicer and the spokespersons he allows to speak make several references to the intertextual debate surrounding the imminent invasion of Iraq. Spicer positions the day's protest in the context of overall British public opinion on whether to support a war on Iraq without a UN resolution. The high school students make strong implicit reference to corrupt politics, a corrupt corporate world, and the September 11th attacks. Costello places the issue in the context of world war by sharing his own experience in World War II. Calwell brings to the table the argument that Saddam Hussein is an evil dictator and as such deserves to be removed. Then Spicer himself places the protest temporally before discussions between European leaders. This work to put the protest in context of the larger intertextual debate is not surprising considering that the protest itself is a loud public commentary on this debate.

ANALYSIS 2: EMILY HARRIS, NPR

Transcription

LW: Sunday morning, hundreds of thousands of Austra:lians took to the streets to protest against possible military action in Iraq. hh Yesterday was a day of demonstrations worldwide, hh with millions of anti-war protesters rallying? from Los Angeles to Kiev to Cape Town. Many of the largest protests were in Europe, where governments are divi:ded on whether to support a wa:r, (.) but where people appear largely united against? one, at least without UN suppo:rt. NPR's Emily Harris reports.

EH: One of the biggest rallies happened in Rome. People of a:ll ages came from acro:ss the political spectrum. It was festive, with jugglers, stilt walkers and musicians. But the message was serious.

UM1: (Foreign language spoken)

EH: `No kind of war' was a rallying cry, backed up by rainbow-colored peace banners everywhere. Demonstrators here showed they disagree with their prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, who suppo:rts President Bush against Ira:q. But this marcher, a middle-aged computer programmer, said it was not an anti-American rally.

UM2: ((Through Translator)) It's only Bush and everyone who surrounds him that I don't li:ke. No, I like Americans. After everything they did for us, the peace they brought and everything else, but I don't like this aggression, and so I am marching.

EH: In London, too, the message was no to Mr. Bush and to British Prime Minister Tony Blai:r, the White House's strongest ally.

GP1: Hey, hey...

GP2: Hey!

GP1: ...ho...

GP2: Ho!

GP1: Bush and Blair...

GP2: ...have got to go!

GP1: Hey, hey...

EH: Writer and cultural commentator Tariq Ali says many demonstrators were motivated by a simple reason.

TA: And when politicians no longer speak for the people, people have to speak for themselves.

EH: He says a potential attack against Iraq has little to do (.) with Saddam Hussein.

TA: Saddam Hussein has bee:n in pow'r now for many, many years, and for the first twenty years he was in pow'r, he was supported by the sa:me politicians in the United States who now want his head. So this war has noth:ing much to do with Saddam Hussein or his weapons. It has everything to do with capturing an Arab country:?, using it to remap the region and placating Israel. That's what this war is about. That's what it's see:n to be about by an overwhelming majority of the world's population? And no one believes Tony Blair↓.

EH: In Britain, demonstrators urged (.) Blair to join French and (.) German leaders who are questioning or straight-out oppo:sing the US approach to Iraq. hh In Paris yesterday, tens of thousands of people joined an anti-war protest. (.) In Berlin, half a million marched through the Brandenburg Gate. That demonstration aimed (.) to both support the German government and to criticize President Bush.

GP3: (Singing) George Bush, we will stop you.

EH: Twenty-five-year-old Darius Ver traveled five hours by bus to demonstrate. hh He sees no point (.) in forcing a war (.) when other options sti:ll seem useful.

DV: Inspections er can be er effective. (.) The inspectors (.) themselves said (.) they need erm (.) more time and more (.) manpower to: (.) do their job, (.) and I eh think they can do it. If they have the time and the money and the (.) equipment, it is possible.

EH: Germans also dismissed some recent American suggestions that their opposition to military action in Iraq means they're ungra:teful (.) for US

help in World War Two. One noted the US joined that war only after Pearl Harbor was attacked. hh Another, Berliner Inga Dietrich, says World War Two helped sha:pe Germany's perspective.

ID: ((Through Translator)) What does wa:r bring? It's the worst thing that could happen. People have already fought in enough wars, (.) and there have already been enough wars.

EH: She doesn't kno:w whether a:ll these people on the street will affect the US administration's point of vie:w, hh but she sa:ys (.) she hopes so. Emily Harris, NPR News, Berlin.

Analysis

Section described and analyzed: Lines 21-46.

This report on the protest in London comes in the context of a longer report on protests around the world, with special emphasis on the marches in Rome, London, and Berlin. (I will focus only on the segment of the report on London.) In this analysis, we will analyze line by line the actions in this report, and in so doing, we shall see through her discursive choices and through the way she positions speakers that reporter Emily Harris seems to be against the war in Iraq. In terms of her journalistic practices, we shall see that Harris uses clips from other speakers to spice up her report, to put forward contentious interpretations of current events and controversial positionings of international actors while simultaneously maintaining and creating for herself an impression of neutrality.

Harris begins the London segment of the report by saying, "In London, too," thereby indicating that her report on peace protests is continuing and she is now singularizing London.[8] She continues, reporting on the protest's message ("no," line 21) as well as on the intended recipients or addressees of this message (Mr. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair).

She identifies George W. Bush as "Mr. Bush." The title "Mr." is a sign of respect for and a certain distancing from the person to whom she is referring. This contrasts with the identifiers she gives to Tony Blair: the "British Prime Minister" and the "White House's strongest ally." Here, she does not pay this particular respect to Blair other than emphasizing his cooperation with the White House.[9] She stresses the word "strongest," which functions to emphasize Blair's power and the strength of his relationship to the White House. She names the White House as the recipient of Blair's alliance, not Bush. We might say that she is positioning the White House as an actor in

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[8] Because the report features the same journalist (Emily Harris) for all three cities, for purposes of clarification, some references will be made to lines of the transcript that are not discussed in this analysis.

[9] In the previous segment of the report focusing on the protest in Rome, Harris identifies Bush as "President Bush" and refers to the Italian leader as "their Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi."

the Iraq controversy, which would include Bush as well as his administration, aides, and so on. Furthermore, she creates a decidedly American-centric focus by emphasizing Blair's alliance to the White House, which indicates that she has designed her report for an *American* audience. By stating what the message is ("no"), Harris positions herself as the reporter of the message.

In the lines that immediately follow, we hear two groups of protesters (GP1 and GP2) chanting interchangeably. Insofar as their shouts follow directly after Harris' claim about the message being "no," we might understand that Harris is implicitly positioning them as the spokespersons of the crowd, and their chants as the message to which she refers.

Their chants of "Hey, hey!" and "Ho!" are evocative of the beginning of a chant or song used in military drills or some other form of organized activity, such as cheerleading. The male leader cries out first ("Hey, hey!") and is followed by female voices repeating him ("Hey!"). (It may be that the intention behind this choice is to provide an auditory and verbal structure for crowd members to follow and join.) The leader continues in line 27: "Bush and Blair…" and seems to wait for the female voices to finish the chant, which they do, shouting, "have got to go!" In this way, the chanters identify the two individuals leading the coalition to invade Iraq, and they state their own demands: that these two leaders "go," presumably out of office. This entire sequence appears to be used as a form of empirical support for what Harris previously said. Having reported that the message was "No," she now backs up her report by presenting to her audience an excerpt confirming that this was indeed the message. This juxtaposition is an example of formulating (Heritage, 1985), glossing, or reinterpreting a clip to make explicit what may have remained implicit. The chant continues and the sound trails off, at which point Harris speaks again to introduce the next speaker.

She qualifies him as "writer and cultural commentator" and then names him: Tariq Ali. We can see that Harris relies on the audience's commonsense knowledge of the membership categories "writer" and "cultural commentator" in presenting Ali as an expert to whom we can defer, which is resonant of

Sacks' notion of collection K categories (Sacks in Silverman, 1998, p. 82). The fact that Harris introduces this well-known activist (who, in his days of student activism, was touted as being staunchly and controversially anti-American[10]) in such a neutral fashion marks not only her neutrality, but perhaps also an attempt to neutralize his contentiousness: He is decidedly a (radical) political and social commentator, but by identifying him as "cultural" commentator, she keeps his identity more nebulous and arguably less controversial. If she is indeed working to downplay how contentious he is, then we could say that she is indirectly affiliating with him and his views, and that she is therefore neither neutral nor objective, but that she manages to create an impression of neutrality.

In terms of action, Harris reports on what Ali says, namely that the demonstrators were motivated by a simple reason. She also formulates how we ought to interpret Ali's statement in the lines that follow. It is important to note that she maintains her neutral footing. She names the protesters as "demonstrators" and claims that Ali attributes to them the quality of being motivated. Moreover, their motivation is described as rational and uncomplicated ("simple reason"). Furthermore, she stresses the word "simple," perhaps to underscore that the demonstrators' concern is easy to comprehend, or, more interestingly, that Ali's subsequent statement simply makes sense. What is clear is that she is not claiming this statement as her own. Rather, she remains in the objective and neutral register, while reporting that it is Ali who offers this interpretation.

Ali's statement in lines 32-33 begins with "And," which tells us that he is continuing a statement begun earlier, but which is not included in this clip. He says, "When politicians no longer speak for the people, people have to speak for themselves." In this way, he invokes the principle that the people ought to be represented by their politicians. He singularizes "politicians" and invokes the notion of a conditional situation with his use of "when" and "no longer." In other words, he is telling us about a particular state of affairs,

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[10] http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbcfour/documentaries/features/feature_tariqali.shtml

namely that politicians usually serve as representatives of the people, and he indicates that this is not a permanent state of affairs ("no longer"). He concludes his conditional "when-then" statement with "people have to speak for themselves."

One could note that, for Ali, this lack of representation is presented as *the* (simple) reason motivating the demonstrators. We can indeed imagine that several reasons could be invoked, such as the fear of a war, the opposition to occidental imperialism, and so on, but Ali, through Harris's report, is reducing all of these reasons to a single one. It is thus interesting to note that, among all the reasons that could have been mentioned, it is this one and not another that Harris decides to focus on through Ali's comments. She manages to maintain a position of objective neutrality (that of the reporter) while passing off a rather politically-loaded message and interpretation of events.

Harris begins speaking again in line 34, attributing what follows to Ali by saying, "He says," thereby positioning herself as the reporter of events (i.e., her footing is that of animator of the utterance) and as speaking on behalf of Ali. Therefore, the word choices she makes following the utterance "he says" might be understood as a translation of Ali's point.

She uses the word *potential* to describe an attack against Iraq, giving us a temporal clue that this attack has not yet come to pass, and that it might not either. She describes military action as an "attack against Iraq." She could have said "forceful disarmament," which other journalists have used to describe the military action. Furthermore, she stresses the word "against," clearly indicating that an attack would be an offensive move. She continues, saying that Ali claims this potential attack "has little to <u>do</u> (.) with Saddam Hussein." Here, we see she is marking a distinction between Iraq and Saddam Hussein (i.e., an attack against Iraq is not necessarily an attack against Saddam Hussein), thereby setting up the crux of the international controversy over Iraq. She is also implicitly introducing, interpreting, and framing (formulating) Ali's subsequent statement. It is perhaps the conceptual equivalent of an introduction at a cocktail party where the host describes one person, here Ali, to an honored

guest, here the listener, so that the honored guest may have some background information about the other person and may therefore be able to place him or her in context.

Before turning to Ali's next statement, I would like to briefly comment on the analytical conundrum of the journalist's reporting on another speaker's words, which Heritage (1985) describes as formulating or glossing what the speaker has said, and which Ekström (2001) explains can potentially change the meaning of the utterance by divorcing it from its initial context. Clearly, Harris is reporting on what Ali has said. However, we don't know if she is quoting him verbatim or if she is making her own discursive choices in the interpretation. If the latter is the case, then we could begin to make a case for the claim that Harris has subtly and deftly left the register of neutrality to make a biased claim. Nevertheless, we can't do so because she does maintain a certain guise of neutrality by the simple fact that she is indeed reporting. I posit that this is the sign of a skilled and savvy political journalist.

In lines 36-43, Ali paints a picture of Saddam Hussein's history in power and his support from American politicians. He does this to argue that the real motivation for going to war is the desire to capture an Arab country. He begins his statement by describing Saddam Hussein's history of holding a position of power: He is in power now, he has been in power for more than 20 years, and for the first 20 years, he had the support of the US politicians who are now opposing him. The reasoning works roughly as follows: This dictator has been in power for many years, we haven't done anything about it throughout these years, so why would we want to do something about it now? If the reason is his dictatorship, we should have intervened a long time ago. Since we did not do anything, there must be a hidden agenda.

Ali stresses the words *supported* and *same* so as to draw attention to the irony of the change in situation. However, he is clear that it is not Saddam Hussein's position that has changed. Rather, what has changed is the support of certain US politicians. More explicitly, their position has gone from one of supporting Saddam Hussein to one of "wanting his head." This discursive

choice is meaningful in that "wanting someone's head" is resonant of bounty hunters and the vigilante justice of the 19th-century American Wild West. Interestingly, it is not resonant of supporting democracy or fighting for human rights, which were some of the arguments employed by proponents of the war to justify their desire to attack Iraq.

Ali singularizes "the same politicians in the United States" so as to identify who wants Saddam Hussein removed from power, if not killed. He identifies the people who want his head as the politicians, not the people represented by these politicians. Ali's use of the word "politician" seems to be in the register of the pejorative; to me, the juxtaposition of the "politicians" and "wanting someone's head" rings of an abuse of power. Not only are these politicians not speaking on behalf of the people, they actually want people killed. The gap between the political representatives and their constituents is therefore implicit in Ali's account.

Ali then comes to a logical conclusion or evaluation, as shown by his use of the word *so*: He has presented evidence and then he proffers an evaluation. His conclusion is essentially: "Given this historical information, we may conclude that the current potential war is not about Saddam Hussein or his weapons." In fact, he stresses the words "nothing much" to emphasize that the potential war is really not related to Saddam Hussein "or his weapons." He stresses the word *or*, perhaps to include in his negation the (intertextual) and mediatized argument that Saddam Hussein posed a threat to world peace because he possesses weapons. (Note that Ali doesn't say, "Weapons of mass destruction." He just says "weapons." Had he said "weapons of mass destruction," it would have implied their existence. Here, he just says that Hussein does have weapons, but that this is not the reason for war.)

Having questioned the reason presented by the politicians, Ali then tells us what the war is really about. He implicitly attributes to himself the quality of knowing the truth and appropriates the role of messenger of the truth. He explains that the war "has everything to do with capturing an Arab country:?, using it to remap the region and placating Israel." The "everything" is in

contrast to the "noth:ing much" he expressed earlier. Here again, he sets up a contrast to strengthen his argument about what the war is really about. *Capturing* implies taking what is not one's own, and is resonant of hunting, of an imbalance of power between the captor and the captee. The upward lilt in intonation that follows "country" might serve as an implicit "Are you with me?" question to the listener.

We can note that instead of saying "capturing Iraq," Ali chooses to say "capturing an Arab country," thereby mobilizing a larger membership categorization device. He uses the indefinite article "an," thereby indicating that it is not singularly Iraq that is the target, but potentially any Arab country, which implicitly extends the threat of "being captured" to many countries in the Middle East. In other words, through the upcoming invasion of Iraq, every Arab country is threatened. Furthermore, he employs the word *country*, which in this case can mean either "a state or a nation," "the territory of a nation." Had he used the word *state*, he would have been referring to the "body politic as organized for civil rule and government,"[11] a reference which would have emphasized the political aspect of the thing. Had he used the word *nation*, he would have been referring to "a body of people, associated with a particular territory, that is sufficiently conscious of its unity to seek or to possess a government peculiarly its own" or "the territory or country itself."[12] While the lines are thin between the three choices, I argue that the word *country* puts particular emphasis on the geographic territory, the people, and the resources therein, and I believe that this might have been Ali's intention.

This argument is strengthened by Ali's accusation that the war has to do with remapping the region, which puts decided emphasis on the geographic and territorial meaning of *country*. He does not mention anything about bringing democracy to the region, which was a key argument on the part of the proponents of the war for justifying military action. Rather, Ali claims that the implicit goal is to instrumentalize Iraq in order to remap the region and placate

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[11] Webster's College Dictionary. (1991). New York: Random House, p. 1306.
[12] Ibid, p. 900.

Israel. By bringing Israel into the argument, Ali blows open the Iraq war controversy to include more far-reaching, regional, religious, and historic controversies (Burke, 1969, would have spoken in terms of circumference). He does not say who would be placating Israel (only that invading Iraq would do so), why Israel should be placated, or even how this would placate Israel. This omission might suggest an assumption on his part that the audience is familiar with the argument, or he may be speaking to a specific swath of the audience who do know what he is talking about, in which case, Harris' use of his clip is an example of de-/recontextualization of an utterance that potentially changes its meaning. He reiterates his interpretation of events by saying, "That is what this war is about," so as to circumscribe the reasons to the ones he just presented.

He then claims that the overwhelming majority of the world's population shares his interpretation, thereby positioning himself as knowing what the majority thinks and appropriating for himself the role of speaking on their behalf. He also speaks for "everyone" by claiming that "no one" believes Tony Blair. Furthermore, he casts doubt on Tony Blair's credibility by claiming that no one believes him. Finally, by mobilizing the credibility of Tony Blair, Ali brings his argumentation and thus attention full circle and back to the London protests.

The question for our purposes is: Why did Harris include this particular clip from this speaker in her report? What effect does its inclusion have on her overall narrative? I posit that Ali's argument borders on being inflammatory relative to what was being broadcast in mainstream media at the time. Certainly on one level, the inclusion of this clip serves to heighten the sensationalistic interest of her report. At another level, we must note that she offers no mitigating point of view, no "other side of the story" that might make her report seem less one-sided. Indeed, I argue that her discursive choice to

include this clip underscores what seems to be the anti-war stance that she takes throughout the report, including the sections not analyzed.[13]

Harris then takes the floor (lines 44-46). She does not comment on Ali's statement, which could indicate that she does not think it needs further interpretation. She returns to the register of description, but follows Ali's lead by bringing attention to the British protests. In fact, this brings the scope of the discussion from the municipal level (London) to the national level ("In Britain"). She reports on the action of the demonstrators (urging Tony Blair to do something), and in so doing, implicitly attributes to the demonstrators the capacity to urge others and the motivation to effect political change. Furthermore, she designates Tony Blair as the intended recipient of their message, which she reports consists of asking Blair to "join French and German leaders and oppose this war." She singularizes the leaders of France and Germany as being the ones who "question or straight-out" oppose the US "approach to Iraq." She thus positions French and German leaders as having doubts about and being opponents of the US approach to Iraq. In singularizing "Iraq," she also designates Iraq as being at the heart of the controversy, rather than an invasion of or attack on Iraq. Finally, we might read into her use of the word "approach" an implicit implication that there are other alternative approaches.

Conclusion

Strategy and Tactics – Choice of speakers: Overall, Harris uses the other speakers in her clip to explain the event and to give a taste of what it was like.[14] For example, she does not introduce the first groups of chanting protestors, perhaps because she uses them to illustrate the atmosphere of the event, giving the impression of being there, as well as to support the claim she makes in line 21 about the message to the British government ("no"). As for

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[13] It is important to note that her stance is not anti-American. In fact, she works to include other clips (not analyzed here) that are decidedly pro-American, perhaps in order to ensure that she does not alienate her own listening audience.

[14] One of the limitations of this analysis is the fact that Harris' report is not considered in its entirety. Only the section pertaining to the London protests is considered, and this was a deliberate choice. A more inclusive analysis would undoubtedly offer richer findings.

Ali, she allows him to explain the controversy at hand. Importantly, he is the one who interprets the situation and the demonstrators' take on it before offering his own loaded and nuanced evaluation. By not commenting on his statements or offering any mitigating comment to acknowledge how loaded they are, Harris appears to implicitly offer some level of agreement with Ali. At the very least, she does not present them as controversial. At the same time, it is their controversial nature that lends the report such sensationalistic interest. However, she skillfully manages to maintain her position of neutrality by attributing the comments to Ali ("he says").

Strategy and Tactics – Formulating: We see that she neutralizes Ali's contentious status in her rather benign introduction of him ("writer and cultural commentator"). Here, we see a general journalistic strategy of using introductions as formulations, that is, as cues to guide the listener in understanding the utterance that is to follow. However, Harris does not herself speak very much in this clip, replying on the clips of other speakers to tell the story, so we cannot say much more on her efforts to formulate.

Effect of journalistic objectivity: Harris does not refer to herself in the report, but remains in the register of neutral observer and reporter of events. Indeed, she is not all that present in this radio clip, speaking in only seven of the 23 lines.[15] She does not *appear* to take a position *vis-à-vis* Tariq Ali's radicalism; she simply introduces him as writer and cultural commentator, which could be seen to demonstrate a certain objectivity. However, I have noted his controversial reputation, to which she omits making any reference. I have also pointed out his loaded take on things, the loaded nature of which she does not acknowledge.

One way that journalists present their stories as believable accounts of what really happened is by using auditory signs that give the impression that they are or were present at the events a story covers. Harris achieves this effect

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[15] It is possible that she was not even present at the event; she reports on three simultaneous protests occurring in London, Rome, and Berlin. More likely is that field reporters sent her clips and information from each city and she or a producer or an editor assembled them into one report. However, without contacting her to verify this, we can only speculate.

of being there through the clip of the chanting protesters, despite the likelihood that she herself was not present. This sense of being there can function to bolster the impression of neutrality a journalist creates: By giving the listener a sense of what an event was actually like, the journalist does not seem to *tell* the listener what to think, when in fact the very choice of what is included or excluded will colour how a listener interprets the coverage of a given event.

Positioning: While Harris does not refer to herself in the clip, she does nonetheless implicitly position herself as the reporter of events by the simple fact that she does report on the events. She positions Tony Blair as being a staunch ally of the White House. Harris positions Ali as a member of a certain category of people (writer and cultural commentator) so as to justify his authority to speak about the protest. She positions demonstrators in Britain (line 44) as desiring to effect political change. She also positions French and German leaders as questioning or opposing the US approach to Iraq. However, she does not offer her own evaluation of events (either explicitly or implicitly). The majority of the positioning work is carried out by Ali in lines 36-43, where he does a remarkable job of positioning Saddam Hussein (a long-time holder of power; not the object of the war), politicians in the United States (who have done an about-face in their stance on Saddam Hussein), the war (it is about capturing an Arab country to remap the region and placate Israel; it is not about Saddam Hussein), the world's population (capable of perceiving the "truth" about the politicians' motivations for war; incredulous), and Tony Blair (not believable).

ANALYSIS 3: CHRIS BROWN, CBC

Transcription

CB: ((Loud background noise)) From all corners of the city, (0.2) hundreds of thousands of people, from seniors to students to parents pushing their kids in strollers (0.2) marched to London's Hyde Park with a message for the British government.

Man: I don't want wa:r. (0.3) I don't think it's right.

CB: London's (.) well-known, (.) left-leaning mayor, Ken Livingston was one of many speakers to denounce (.) Britain's allegiance (0.2) to the United States.

KL: So let everybody recognize what has happened 'ere toda:y. (0.2) Britain does not support this war for oiyul.

CB: The fact that (.) sso many in the huge crowd represented unions, churches and other (.) traditional supporters of Britain's Labour Party .hh illustrates just how serious Tony Blair's (.) political problems are over Iraq. (0.3) Writer Tariq Ali says Blair is in a precarious position.

TA: If Labour MPs (0.3) don't get rid of Blair, they will suffer.

CB: But the Prime Minister had a message of his o:wn for the demonstrators, (.) speaking at a party convention in Scotland, Tony Blair says there's a strong moral case (.) for forcibly removing Saddam Hussein.

TB: If there are five hundred thousand on that ma:rch, that is still less than the number of people (0.2) whose (.) deaths (.) Saddam (.) has been responsible for. (0.5) If there are one million, (0.3) that is still less than the number of people (0.2) that died (0.2) in the wars that he started.

CB: Blair said his current unpo:pularity is the price of leadership- and (.) the cost of conviction, ↓a conviction that will be put to

the test on Monday (.) when he meets other European leaders. France and Germany have said they're oppo:sed to a military strike against Iraq (0.2) .hh and that's created deep divisions in NATO, (.) the European Union (.) and on the UN Security Council. Despite a growing list of opponents, (.) Tony Blair will be looking for an indication↓ (.) it's still po:ssible for a consensus (.) on the need to forcibly disarm Saddam Hussein (.) and quickly. .hh Chris Brown, CBC News, London.

Analysis

Section described and analyzed: Lines 1-29.

In the analysis of this news story, I will show that journalist Chris Brown uses many strategies to make a coherent and compelling narrative. In particular, I will show that he redevelops the gist of others' words to construct his own narrative. He sets up oppositions to enhance the dramatic tension of this narrative. Finally, I will explore how he jeopardizes his own journalistic objectivity by leaving the register of description and reporting, and entering the register of evaluation.

The audio clip begins without any introduction. We hear loud background noise, an auditory clue that gives us contextual information that the journalist is outside and in a crowd, which creates the effect of being there. Brown begins his report by describing the scope of the event in lines 1-2: People came from all over London, and there were hundreds of thousands of them. He thus gives the audience factual information about the protest, placing himself squarely in the neutral, objective register. He refers to the protesters as *people* rather than as *demonstrators*, *protesters*, *participants*, or even *Londoners*. Again, this discursive choice seems to indicate a neutral, objective stance on his part towards the marchers. He identifies the protesters by offering more detail about them: Not only do they come from geographically disperse areas, they come from all ages and walks of life ("*from* seniors *to* students *to* parents"). This list of participants marks their diversity. The choices Brown makes in describing the participants (seniors, students, and parents with strollers) paint a portrait of a non-threatening crowd. Furthermore, his stress on the word *parents* followed by "pushing their kids in strollers" reinforces this interpretation. Hence, we know that Brown implicitly describes the protest as peaceful. Brown's first lines serve as an anecdotal introduction to the entire report, rendering it more alive and catchy.

He then describes the people's action: marching to Hyde Park to send a message to the British government. In so doing, he appropriates for himself the role of reporter of events, and he attributes to the crowd a specific objective. He also names the "recipient" of their message: the British government. Brown offers no introduction of the anonymous man who speaks next (line 5), yet by juxtaposing the man's utterance immediately after mentioning the crowd's message, Brown sets the man up as the spokesperson for the crowd, and his words as the message for the government.

Contrary to how Brown implicitly positions the man, we can tell from his use of the first person pronoun *I* that he clearly does not appropriate for himself the role of spokesperson for the crowd. Rather, he positions himself as "being against." The man says he negates any desire for war. He pauses, perhaps to add emphasis to what will follow, perhaps to find his words, and then he invokes a moral argument (it's not "right"), tempering this claim by prefacing it with the qualifier, "I don't think," which mitigates his declaration that war would be immoral. It is mitigated because he does not make a sweeping universal statement. Instead, by declaring the position as his own, he allows for the possibility that his position is controversial.

Brown then speaks again (lines 6-7), introducing the next speaker, London's mayor, Ken Livingstone. The journalist uses the membership category qualifiers "well-known" and "left-leaning" to describe the mayor before identifying him by name and describing his position on Britain's cooperation with the United States. In this way, we see Brown employing a membership categorization device to give the audience clues as to how to understand who Livingstone is. Furthermore, Brown singularizes Livingstone while including him as one among many speakers, signifying the amplitude of the protest event once again. He then names the many speakers' action: denouncing the UK's relationship with the United States. He thus sets up Britain's category-bound activity (actively proclaiming loyalty to the United

States) as being understandable given Britain's part of the relational pair "allied nation-states."

What's more, Brown uses the word *allegiance* rather than *alliance*. This is meaningful in that *allegiance* suggests loyalty and commitment, and presupposes a relationship between an inferior and a superior rather than partnership.[16] *Allegiance* almost rings of some sort of contract. However, what is of most interest to us is that Brown does not take any objective distance from this discursive choice. For instance, he could have said, "What Livingstone (or others) call 'allegiance.'" This is significant because it seems to indicate a slip in Brown's journalistic objectivity; he is implicitly taking a position on this controversial issue.

It is interesting to note that Livingstone does not in fact denounce this allegiance in his clip, and this may be an example of Ekström's (2001) notion of the de-/reconstruction of a speaker's utterance. Brown's introduction of Livingstone formulates how the listener is to interpret Livingstone's clip and it sets up an opposition between the protest's "many speakers" and Britain's state of allegiance with the United States. This opposition heightens the dramatic tension of the narrative.

In lines 8-9, London Mayor Ken Livingstone appeals to "everyone" to act. More specifically, he wants everyone to recognize that what he is about to say is the truth about the protest. He doesn't specify whom he means by "everyone," and he appropriates for himself the role of spokesperson for Britain as well as the ability to correctly interpret the events of the day. By naming "Britain" as the actor who does not support the war for oil, Livingstone

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[16] From Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, allegiance is defined thus: Etymology: Middle English *allegeance,* modification of Middle French *ligeance,* from Old French, from *lige* liege 1 a: the obligation of a feudal vassal to his liege lord b (1): the fidelity owed by a subject or citizen to a sovereign or government (2): the obligation of an alien to the government under which the alien resides, 2 : devotion or loyalty to a person, group, or cause (http://www.m-w.com/dictionary.htm).

depersonalizes the controversy, much as Brown did in line 7.
However, I believe that we can look deeper and find a "game of spokesperson" at work here. Ostensibly, the "message for the British government" mentioned in line 3 is in fact intended for Tony Blair, who is the head of British government. In my view, Blair's rapprochement with the Bush administration is what Brown intertextually refers to when he says "Britain's allegiance (0.2) to the United States." Returning to Livingstone's statement, we see him as vying with Tony Blair for the role of Britain's spokesperson.

Livingstone claims that the protest is Britain's declaration of non-support for a war for oil. He categorizes the imminent invasion of Iraq as a war for oil, which references the Gulf War of 1991 when many people claimed to think that the motivation for going to war was not to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi forces, but rather to secure cheaper oil reserves for the developed world. Such an accusation on the part of Livingstone might imply that the second imminent war is dirty and immoral. Hence, there is an implicit invocation of morality on the part of Livingstone. Overall, Livingstone's clip serves to introduce the controversial perspective that the then-immanent invasion of Iraq was not supported by the public and was not believed by many to be moral.

In lines 10-13, Brown speaks again, seeming to present factual evidence to support a subsequent claim. Specifically, he remarks on the size of the crowd ("huge") and on the fact that "so many" protesters represented organizations that are not typically given to public demonstrations against Blair's government, at least not collectively. These comments mark the amplitude of the event and its status as exceptional. This presentation of factual information places Brown in the register of neutral description. Brown further identifies them as unions and religious groups and "other traditional supporters of Britain's Labour Party."

Brown then makes a break from the descriptive register and enters the register of evaluation or diagnosis in line 11. He says that their participation is

indicative of serious political problems ("... illustrates just how serious Tony Blair's (.) political problems are over Iraq"). He singularizes Tony Blair as being the one with these political problems, and specifies that these problems are due to the controversy over Iraq. What this diagnosis means in terms of the overall report is that Brown is not in "neutral territory." He is explicitly telling the listener how to interpret the information: Tony Blair has serious political problems that are of his own making.

Brown returns to the register of description as he introduces the next speaker, whom he identifies as "writer Tariq Ali." He places Ali in the membership category "writer," perhaps to position him as an expert (Sack's "collection K", Silverman, 1998) able to confirm his (Brown's) evaluation of the situation. It is interesting to note that Brown doesn't label or otherwise qualify Ali, as he does Livingstone ("left-leaning"). Ali is in fact at least as left-leaning as London's mayor. By not describing Ali as left-leaning, Brown implicitly presents what Ali has to say as perhaps less than controversial. This is especially so considering that he does in fact label Livingstone.

This is another instance of what we shall is see is a pattern of Brown's: He makes a statement, which is then supported by the words of the subsequent speaker. In this way, he seems to use his speakers to make his case. In this instance, Brown has just finished saying that Tony Blair has "serious (...) political problems" and that "Tariq Ali says Blair is in a precarious position." Here we see that his introduction of Ali supports his previous statement. In fact, in this introduction, Brown effectively appropriates the task of summarizing, and thus formulating or interpreting Ali's message: Blair is in political trouble. It is interesting that Ali doesn't in fact comment on Blair directly. Rather, he comments on the Labour Party MPs (Ministers of Parliament, line 14): In this sense, Brown is doing what Heritage (1985, p.104) describes as redeveloping the gist of an utterance. Because of how Brown sets up Ali's statement, we *hear* it as though Ali actually comments on Blair.

Ali is forceful in his message, claiming there will be undesirable if somewhat nebulous consequences for the Labour Party if Tony Blair remains in the party ("they will suffer"). In this sense, there appears to be an implicit warning in Ali's utterance. There is a definite pejorative cast to the words "get rid of Blair"; it positions Blair as unwanted and disposable.

In lines 15-17, Brown provides the other side of the argument. He prefaces what he says with "But," marking a distinction from Ali's utterance. This time, Brown identifies Tony Blair simply as "the Prime Minister," signifying respect for both the individual and the position. This marks a contrast: his respect for Blair versus Ali's irreverence. In this sense, it appears that Brown is distancing himself from Ali's position, working to maintain his own neutrality. Furthermore, by seemingly presenting the other side of the story, Brown creates an effect of objective balance in his overall story.

Brown claims Blair has a message for the protesters, attributing to Blair the intention to communicate directly with the protesters ("...had a message of his o:wn for the demonstrators"). By emphasizing the word "own," Brown reinforces the notion that Blair's message is a counter-balance to Ali's criticism, or a response to those who criticize his and his party's actions. Thus Brown marks an antagonism between the two sides, with Blair clearly occupying the position opposite from Ali in addressing the protesters. Brown situates the context of Blair's speech, telling us that he was at a party convention in Scotland. He also splices together partial contents of two separate speech occasions (the Hyde Park protest and a Labour Party convention in Scotland). This splicing creates the impression of an actual dialog that did not in fact take place. However, because of this sequential organization, the listener hears it as such.

In lines 16-17, we see another instance of the pattern mentioned earlier: Brown appropriates the task of interpreting and summarizing the message of the next speaker (Blair). In the previous example (lines 12-13), Brown said Ali

commented on Blair's position, which Ali did do, but only implicitly, in his assessment of the "precarious position" of the Labour MPs whom he urged to "get rid of Blair." Hence, we see that Brown framed Ali's message to be interpreted as a comment about Blair's position, while in Ali's actual statement, Blair's position in power was simply a condition for others' potential suffering. So, as we can see, Brown is using Ali's statement to support the "case" or argument that he is building.

Let us return now to lines 16-17. Brown tells us that Blair invokes morality as a call for action in Iraq, marking the first time in the audio clip that explicit reference is made to morality. This invocation is parallel to the mayor's implicit invocation of morality in calling the war a "war for oil." In this sense, we see again that Brown is working to position Blair as the other side of the argument.

Brown emphasizes the words *moral* and *removing*. By invoking morality ("a strong moral argument"), Brown claims Blair is justifying the need to use aggressive force. More precisely, Brown says Blair defines the needed action as "forcibly removing Saddam Hussein." This singularizes Saddam Hussein rather than Iraq as the target, which is a discursive choice that we can easily imagine Blair making.

Interestingly, in his statement in lines 18-21, Blair does not in fact make any reference to the need to remove Saddam Hussein. He addresses his fellow party members and not, as Brown claims, the demonstrators.[17] Blair does paint Saddam Hussein as a villain, attempting to illustrate the gravity of his actions by comparing the number of demonstrators to number of deaths for which he claims Hussein is responsible. Blair names the event as *march* rather than as *protest* or *demonstration*, which is in itself a rather neutral or even

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[17] It is quite possible and probably likely that Blair's discourse was conceived with a larger audience in mind, one that would include a public listening to clips of his speech broadcast by mass media. From the clip, we can't know.

euphoric discursive choice. However, he does not refer to the protesters as anything other than a number: "five hundred thousand" or "one million." While this discursive choice allows him to circumvent the task of naming them as *people*, *protesters*, *demonstrators* or the like, which would perhaps lend credibility to their movement, it also puts emphasis on the amplitude of the event. Blair does not try to downplay the number of people participating; in fact, in his argumentation, he seems to co-opt the fact that a huge number of British people protested, comparing the number of protesters to the number of people killed in order to accentuate his point that Saddam Hussein has done terrible things. This is akin to the martial arts philosophy of using the energy of one's opponent against him or her.

In line 19, Blair pauses after uttering "people," perhaps to let the word sink in, before claiming that Saddam Hussein is responsible for their deaths. By naming these victims (and not the protesters) as "people," Blair could be emphasizing the victims' humanity, perhaps in order to drive home the notion that Saddam Hussein has committed atrocities. As mentioned earlier, Blair positions Saddam Hussein as the story's villain. Blair refers to the Iraqi head of state by first name only ("Saddam"), indicating his familiarity with the character and his assumption that the listening audience (the party members and arguably anyone who hears a recording of the speech) is familiar with this character. More importantly, this level of familiarity in discussing a foreign head of state demonstrates a blatant lack of respect for the person to whom Blair refers. Indeed, the effect is to remove some of Saddam Hussein's "aura" as the Iraqi leader.

With his second comparison in lines 19-21, Blair reiterates the claim that Saddam Hussein is responsible for the deaths of many more people than there are (people) on the march. He stresses the word *died* to re-emphasize the gravity of Saddam Hussein's actions. Finally, he claims that Saddam has started wars, thereby positioning Saddam as powerful. It also positions Saddam

Hussein as the individual solely responsible for these wars, which in effect negates the involvement of any other players, whether Iraqi or otherwise. It also sets Saddam Hussein up as a provocateur who has a history of war-mongering and who has over time been responsible for the deaths of more than a million people.

Brown takes the floor again in lines 22-29, beginning by reporting another message from Tony Blair. We are not given contextual information as to the provenance of this message. From the fact that it follows the extract from his party convention speech, we might assume that it is from this speech, but we don't really know. Hence, we have here another example of de-/recontextualization wherein Brown summarizes (formulates) an utterance of Tony Blair's to serve his own story-telling purposes. Brown claims Blair said he is simply paying the price of leadership, namely, being unpopular from time to time. Brown stresses the word *current*, thereby invoking and emphasizing a temporal dimension of Blair's situation of being unpopular. It is clear that Brown attributes to Blair the invocation of the principle or notion that being a leader requires sacrifice. In so doing, Brown singularizes leadership, implicitly underscoring Blair's position as leader. Furthermore, he claims that Blair has mentioned a "cost of conviction," which again invokes the notions of sacrifice and morality. In this instance, morality (which we could consider as "conviction") has a price. Incidentally, George W. Bush used this argument many times when working to justify his decision to take unilateral action against Iraq. In the case of Bush, the cost of conviction was the blatant opposition or simply the lack of support from the United Nations. It seems here that Blair's "cost of conviction" is his domestic popularity, which resonates with the statement Brown made in line 13 ("Blair is in a precarious position").

While Blair's "precarious position" is dysphoric, Brown chooses rather euphoric terms to describe the cause: conviction, leadership, and morality. In this sense, we might conclude that Brown, through his discursive choices, is

demonstrating a certain pro-Blair bias. However, I think that this would be an erroneous conclusion in that Brown has distanced himself from his discursive choice by stating, "Blair said," in line 22. Brown seems to be paraphrasing Blair.

This leads me to an important point mentioned earlier in the analysis, namely that of the difference between reporting and evaluating. Ostensibly, the register of reporting is neutral, objective, or in other words, the gold standard of "good journalism." The register of evaluation, on the other hand, implicitly or explicitly positions the journalist as providing a diagnosis of the information reported, which is not necessarily neutral or objective, although it might be presented as such. I think we can learn much from the somewhat inevitable dance that many journalists perform by moving between the registers of reporting and of evaluation. In this example, Brown reports on what Blair has said (lines 22-23) by paraphrasing his words (although this is implicit and we cannot be certain whether or not Brown's paraphrasing is true to Blair's original words). Brown then uses his own voice to make an evaluation: "a conviction that will be put to the test on Monday" (line 23). Again, we see here that Brown tells the listener how to interpret; in his action of diagnosing, he positions himself as evaluator. Our question then becomes: Can anything meaningful be gleaned from this evaluation? I believe so. Brown uses Blair's euphoric terms in his reporting and then immediately casts doubt on their euphoric status in his own evaluation ("putting Blair's conviction to the test" means that his conviction is not sure-fire). At the very least, it means the conviction is not universally shared, and Brown seems to want to stress this point. This, I believe, is where we can see a certain bias on Brown's part emerge, a bias against Tony Blair's position.

He returns to the register of description when he gives a temporal cue to his listeners ("on Monday," line 23), invoking a future time, which could be seen as an implicit call to "stay tuned for more news." He contextualizes

Monday and Blair's conviction by telling us that Blair will be meeting other European leaders.

Brown then singularizes France and Germany for their opposition to military action against Iraq (lines 24-25). This statement follows on the heels of his mentioning other European leaders. We might interpret this to mean that he is positioning France and Germany as the other European leaders. However, he might also be depersonalizing the debate, erasing the plurality of opinions likely expressed in any nation-state on the matter. Or he might be referring to France and Germany with the implicit assumption that their leaders speak on behalf of the country, and that in this sense, they *are* their countries, at least in terms of representation. I believe the latter might be the most convincing interpretation because he positions France and Germany as speaking as individuals ("have said") and as having positions in the controversy over military action (they are opposed). He pauses and then continues, saying that their opposition has had consequences: deep divisions in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, established after World War II to promote mutual defense and security against the Soviet threat during the Cold War), the European Union, and the UN Security Council.

By choosing the words *deep divisions*, Brown tells us the depth and strength of the controversy over Iraq. By citing three powerful alliances, he underscores again just how serious it is that France and Germany are opposed to the American and British position *vis-à-vis* Iraq: It has put in jeopardy at least two alliances (NATO and the UN Security Council) that were ostensibly designed to keep the world a safer place.

Most importantly, Brown returns to the register of evaluation when he says that France and Germany's opposition is what has created this deep division. He could have just as easily attributed the cause of the deep division to the pressure tactics undertaken by the US and the UK to convince Security Council members into approving a cessation of weapons inspections in Iraq. In

this argument, the role of provocateur is attributed to the players who urged a break from the status quo (continued weapons inspections). Instead, Brown positions the two countries that stood their ground as being the provocateurs. In this sense, we can consider line 25 as Brown's evaluation of the situation, one that seems to side with the American and British interpretation or narrative of events.

The next word he utters in line 26 is *despite*, which marks a lack of opposition where we might in fact expect opposition. In the audio clip analyzed here, Brown sets up the opposition between Blair's "growing list of opponents" and "consensus" (ostensibly between the opposing parties). What links the two, or what could potentially prevent the two sides from impeding each other, is Blair's desire or hope, which is expressed by his future action of "looking for an indication."

What is also interesting is Brown's presentation of Blair's future action as fact. He is presumably reporting on what Blair has said he will do, but Brown does not take any objective distance; he does not report, "Tony Blair says he will be looking for consensus." This presentation of the information as factual is in a sense an endorsement of Blair on the part of Brown: He believes Blair's words enough to present them as fact. In this way, Brown is positioning Blair as credible.

By saying "still possible" in lines 27-28, Brown again invokes a notion of temporality, lending a sense of urgency to the report. There is an expressed doubt as to whether it is in fact still possible for the opposing sides to reach a consensus. (And we now know that they did not in fact reach a consensus.)

As an aside, I would like to comment on the "growing list of opponents" and the oppositions that Brown tries to create throughout the report. Firstly, I think we can conclude that the list of opponents includes France and Germany and those members of NATO, the EU, and the UN Security Council who did not believe military action against Iraq was

necessary without the weapons inspectors finding tangible evidence that Iraq posed a threat to world safety. Although weapons inspectors are not mentioned in this clip, I believe we may conclude that the reference to the three alliances, in particular to the UN Security Council, is an implicit intertextual reference to the highly mediatized global debate over weapons inspections and whether or not to attack and invade Iraq.

Finally, Brown wraps up the report by saying that Blair seeks a consensus "on the need to forcibly disarm Saddam Hussein" and then he adds "and quickly" (lines 28-29). He invokes the notion of necessity for action, which seems to me to have been at the crux of the global controversy. He qualifies the action as "forcibly disarming" rather than "attacking" or "invading" or even "declaring war." His discursive choice frames the action as using force to remove a threat, a defensive offense, which is the argument that the Bush administration put forward. It is conceivable that Brown is paraphrasing Blair, but he does not present the information to us as such. He presents it as fact and, in this way, endorses it. Furthermore, Brown identifies the threat as being an armed Saddam Hussein, not an Iraq with nuclear weapons. All in all, Brown's discursive choice emphasizes *threat* and *Saddam Hussein*, and fails to mention any concern over the civilian Iraqis who would be affected by military action. He closes the report by identifying himself, the media he represents and his location.

Conclusion

Strategy and tactics – Choice of speakers: Like many journalists, Brown uses his speakers to carry his story along, splicing together clips from disparate interviews to create his own coherent narrative. He uses the clip from the unnamed man (line 5) to illustrate the message that protesters are giving to the British government. The clip from London's Mayor Ken Livingstone introduces the then-current suggestion that the immanent war in Iraq was really about securing cheap oil. This clip also supports Brown's previous utterance.

Blair's clip offers the other side of the argument, contextualizes the event in terms of the global arena and introduces Saddam Hussein into the story.

Strategy and tactics – Oppositions and dramatic tension: Brown sets up several oppositions in the report, all of which serve to heighten dramatic tension and thus the overall sensationalistic value of the story. Livingstone and Blair are implicitly pitted against one another as spokespersons for the British people. The juxtaposition of Livingstone's, Ali's, and Blair's clips sets up a sort of "battle of the narratives" wherein each offers his own take on how to interpret the current situation. In this way, Brown does journalistic justice to the complexity of the controversy, bringing to his listeners a broad cross-section of interpretations.

Strategy and tactics – Formulating to give interpretive cues: Before each speaker's clip, Brown offers cues as to how the listener ought to interpret the subsequent utterance. He frames the protesters as being messengers (lines 3-4), implicitly framing the anonymous man's words as being the message. He frames Livingstone's words as denouncing Britain's relationship with the United States, while in his clip, Livingstone does not make explicit mention of this relationship. However, the sequential organization of the two utterances (Brown's and Livingstone's) functions in such a way that the listener hears Livingstone's clip as supporting Brown's prior statement. He similarly uses Ali's clip to support his own prior utterance. Specifically, he frames Ali's statement as being about Blair's precarious position, while Ali is really commenting on the future of the Labour party (which of course implicitly includes Tony Blair's future). Finally, he frames Tony Blair's words as being a strong moral argument for removing Saddam Hussein, while in fact Blair doesn't make any mention in this clip of a need to remove Saddam Hussein.

Intertextuality: In the final segment of the report, Brown explains in some detail the controversy over Iraq. He explains the controversy as France

and Germany[18] oppose a military strike against Iraq. Brown's intertextual reference is implicit: France and Germany opposed a military strike because they believed in the need for continued weapons inspections. However, Brown does not mention the inspections here.

Effect of journalistic objectivity: For the most part, Brown maintains a position of journalistic objectivity. He does not refer to himself in the report, thereby implicitly positioning himself as an observer and reporter of events. Moreover, he sets up oppositions between Ali (speaking on behalf of the protesters) and Blair (speaking on his own behalf) by providing clips from each. These oppositions give the impression that the listener is getting two sides of the story and that Brown himself is not taking sides.

While Brown never positions himself as an evaluator, diagnostician, or interpreter (for example, by saying, "I think"), on several occasions, he does in fact leave the register of description or reporting to offer his evaluation of what he is reporting on. In this, one could say that his journalistic objectivity is compromised. One way this occurs is by Brown's presenting the words of others as facts, or by his failing to attribute those words to the speakers themselves. We saw this in line 8 where Brown does not distance himself from Livingstone's and others' denunciation of Britain's "allegiance" to the United States. We saw it again in lines 32-34 where he presents as fact Blair's declared intention to seek consensus. Here, he also fails to indicate that it is Blair who discursively frames the object of this consensus, namely the forcible disarmament of Saddam Hussein. Another way that Brown compromises his journalistic objectivity is by slipping into the register of evaluation (or diagnosis). For example, in lines 13-14, he claims that Blair's political problems are illustrated by the fact that so many of his traditional supporters are protesting against his government. It is Brown who makes this

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[18] France and Germany are part of the EU and NATO; France is a permanent member on the UN Security Council.

interpretation. He evaluates again in lines 27-28 when he claims that Blair's conviction will be put to the test, and again in lines 29-30 when he attributes to France and Germany the role of international provocateur.

DISCUSSION

In the previous three analyses, I explored what is "done," that is, what actions are carried out in the three radio news reports. In truth, these could have been any radio news reports. The question was, you may recall, *what are we able to learn through the employ of ethnomethodological analysis and CA techniques about journalistic practices if we take as our object the radio news story itself*?

One premise upon which this research was conducted is that the radio news story is modeled after everyday talk, and as such, is an appropriate object of EM and CA research. Another premise is that journalists, like members of any group, follow shared practices to do their work. Similarly, both listeners and journalists know what a news story is and how to interpret it.

This Discussion chapter will group together and summarize the key findings from the three analyses. The chapter begins with a discussion of the first premise: how the radio news story is similar to everyday talk, and how the assumptions of ethnomethodology and CA hold when applied to the radio news story. The second half of this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of members' methods, that is, the strategic practices employed by journalists and other speakers to make meaningful and interesting stories.

Radio News Story as Similar to Everyday Conversation

You may recall from the Theory chapter that CA assumes that (conversational) interaction is structurally organized, and that speakers' contributions to an interaction are contextually oriented. We can find evidence of this in the "details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant (Heritage, 1984, p. 241). In my three analyses, I scrutinized the details of the radio news reports to see what could be found, in an attempt to see how similar a radio news report is to conversation. From these three analyses, I propose that we can see evidence of such similarity in the following ways: (a) The radio news reports demonstrate a sequential organization that is similar to everyday talk, (b) we can see that the

producers of talk (the journalist and the speakers) attend to the overhearing audience as a participant (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991), and (c) the journalists and other speakers invoke membership categories and membership category devices to make their utterances meaningful to the listener. I will now discuss each of these points in greater detail.

Sequential Organization

Clearly, a radio news report is dissimilar from a conversation in that the report is pieced together after the fact. Sometimes the speakers' utterances come from different contexts and speech occasions. However, as we shall see, quite often the report is pieced together – what Ekström (2001) calls "splicing" – in a dialogical fashion, much like the sequential organization of a conversation, where one speaker's comments are seen to build upon prior utterances. The journalist or editor plays on our shared expectation of sequential organization in the construction of the radio news story by setting up its format so that "sounds" as though speakers' utterances build upon prior utterances, as though they are taking conversational turns. In other words, they construct, in a certain sense, a conversation.

One example of such splicing can be found in Brown's news story (CBC). Three speakers whose clips are included in Brown's report seem to invoke the notion of morality when they discuss the war. The first, the man in line 5, claims the war is "not right." The second, London's Mayor Ken Livingstone, declares that Britain does not support the war for oil (line 10). Finally, Tony Blair points out the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein to make a case for forcibly removing Hussein from power (which was one way to refer to the war). This splicing together creates the impression of an actual dialog that did not in fact take place. Indeed, the clips come from two different speech occasions, two from the Hyde Park protest in London and one from a Labour Party convention in Scotland. However, because each of the speakers

talks implicitly or explicitly of the same topic – morality – it seems as though each is commenting on the utterance of a prior speaker.

This impression is enhanced by Brown's own work to create oppositions. In this example, we see Brown pit Tony Blair's utterance against those of the other speakers, especially Livingstone, when he says, "But the Prime Minister had a message of his o:wn for the demonstrators" (Lines 17-18). In other words, Brown practically tells us, "This is what Blair had to say on the matter in his conversational turn."

Another example of splicing in order to create the impression of dialogic continuity can be found in Spicer's report (NPR), where we saw how he juxtaposed a clip from young "hot head" high school students with a clip from an "old soldier." (This also served to illustrate the amplitude of the event.) The students implicitly claim that the war is really about sleazy politics and an inappropriate response to September 11th (lines 24-30). Spicer then takes a "turn" to claim that the old soldier, Tony Costello, compares an attack on Iraq to the use of a sledgehammer to open a nut. Interestingly, as we hear, the old soldier does *not* in fact make this comment in his clip (which we hear as his "turn"). However, because Spicer claims that Costello does (and because Spicer works successfully to maintain his own position of "believable reporter"), it seems to the listener that the old veteran's position does accord with that of the young hot heads, thus underscoring the point Spicer is making that the event united a wide variety of people. Here, as in the previous example, it is through the journalist's work to introduce and pre-formulate – or interpret – the second speaker's utterance that the two clips are tied together to give the impression of a dialog. (I shall discuss formulating in more detail in the second half of this chapter.)

In lines 15-20 of Spicer's report, we can find another example of the journalist organizing his report so that it seems to follow a conversational sequence. In lines 15-18, Ed Sykes says that the British people support the

French and German position on the war, and that going against the people on this would be political suicide for Blair. Spicer's next utterance in lines 19-20 builds on this notion of political suicide when he reports on the results of an opinion poll: Only a meager seven percent of those polled claim they would support the war without a UN resolution. We, as listeners, hear Spicer's comment as backing up Ed Sykes' prior utterance, in part because it sequentially follows his utterance, and in part because we hear it to be topically relevant.

Attending To the Overhearing Audience

Heritage (1984, 2005) tells us that speakers' contributions to an interaction are contextually oriented, that is, that they produce and at the same time are governed by the interaction context. What is unique with respect to broadcast talk is that the listener is part of the conversation, albeit as a silent participant. In other words, the speakers of broadcast talk, journalists and others, attend to the listener as a conversational member (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). In this way, when they talk, they conceive of the context of production (when and where their own utterances take place) *and* of the context of broadcast where these comments will be disseminated, sometime in the future.

For example, in the report by NPR's Nick Spicer, we see speaker Tony Costello directly address the audience in lines 39-40 when he says, "But like (.) yourselves and and us." We know he is addressing the audience because he uses the second person plural, *yourselves*. In other words, it is clear he is addressing more than just the person who interviewed him (we don't know if this person was Spicer or someone else). In fact, Costello positions the audience members as being part of a relational pair, *yourselves and us*, or *Americans and the British*. Indeed, he is addressing an American audience, which takes the positioning work one step further to demonstrate his

assumption that the listener belongs to a certain membership category, namely *American*.

As for the journalists, they also position the listener as an overhearing member of the radio news story "conversation." One way they implicitly do so, as Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) tell us, is by maintaining a position of neutrality *vis-à-vis* the quoted speakers' utterances. For example, they refrain from producing typical receipt objects (such as "oh"), which sanction an utterance as "newsworthy." By refraining, they position the listener as the intended recipient of the utterances that make up the news story. Heritage and Greatbatch were examining news interviews rather than radio news stories or reports. In the case of the radio news story, we might remember the example in Emily Harris' report (lines 30-31 and 34-35), where Harris pre-formulates Tariq Ali's statement and gives some background information about him to help the listener place him in context. The analogy I made was of a host at a cocktail party making introductions. I would argue that this is an example of the journalist positioning the listener as a participant.

Audience Familiarity and Shared Commonsense Knowledge

We can see evidence of the journalist implicitly positioning the listener as a participant by looking at his or her apparent assumptions about the commonsense or shared knowledge that the audience possesses. This evidence can be found in the journalist's reliance on membership category references to make his or her story meaningful.

For example, both journalists Emily Harris and Chris Brown rely on membership categorization devices to identify Tariq Ali. Harris describes him as "writer and cultural commentator" (lines 30-31), which incidentally also positions him as an expert to whom the listener may defer. For his part, Brown refers to Ali simply as "writer," which functions in much the same way as Harris' reference. What is interesting about these discursive choices is that the journalists seem to assume that the listener is familiar with the category *writer*,

and that he or she will lend greater weight to what a member of the *writer* category says regarding a political event than he or she will to a member of another group, such as *garbage collector*. You may recall from the Theory chapter that part of commonsense knowledge, or the shared stock of knowledge, is knowing where to get the information that we do not know. This accords with what Sacks called "Collection K," where the relational pair involves an expert providing information to a non-expert (Silverman, 1998).

In his description of the protest, reporter Nick Spicer offers another salient example of the journalist's reliance on audience familiarity with membership categories. In the first place, he illustrates that the protest brought together ordinary people from all walks of life. He does so by describing them as "Baby Delilah," "parents pushing strollers," "Londoners," and "lawyers↑, bishops, children walking their dogs and people in wheelchairs" (lines 45-46). To tell the listener who the "regular demonstrators" are, he names a membership-category-specific activity: handing out *Socialist Weekly*.

Chris Brown, in his report, also identifies participants as representing "unions, churches, and other traditional supporters" (line 11-12) of the Labour Party. Both of these examples are significant in that they demonstrate that the journalists assume that their listeners are familiar with all of the categories listed. In the second place, it also demonstrates that they assume that their listeners know how to "hear" the interpretive information offered. Put otherwise, Schutz's notion of the reciprocity of perspectives (Heritage, 1984, p. 77) holds that the journalist necessarily assumes that the listener knows how to identify interpretive information (handing out *Socialist Weekly*) and to recognize that this information is given to "fill in the blanks" about a particular membership category (the "regular demonstrators").

Taken together, the three points discussed here – namely, the sequential organization of the radio news reports, the attending to the listener as a participant, and the journalist's reliance on membership categories – offer

sufficient evidence for us to conclude that the radio news story is similar enough to everyday conversation to be considered a worthwhile object of EM and CA analysis. I turn now to a discussion of the journalist's methods as member's practices.

Members' Practices

One aim of this research was to elucidate the strategic practices or methods used by members (journalists or, ostensibly, their editors and producers) to make their stories meaningful and dramatic. I have just discussed two such strategic practices: sequentially organizing the clips of a report to create the impression of a "conversation," and invoking membership categories to create meaning. This chapter will discuss six other strategic practices. But first, a note is in order about expectations of accountability that govern the journalist, and about his or her goals and the dance that must be performed to achieve these goals.

The journalist is doubly accountable for his or her "accounts" (i.e., his or her news reports). On the one hand, these accounts must be understandable to the listener, just as any speaker's account must be understandable. For example, the membership categories invoked by the journalist must be part of the listener's commonsense knowledge, otherwise the story will not be meaningful. A reciprocity of perspectives with the listener demands that the journalist make accurate assumption about this shared commonsense knowledge (i.e., you have to "know your audience"). Furthermore, the journalist must create his or her report so that it is understandable to the listener *as a report.* One way this is done is through the journalist telling the listener his or her identity and location, a common tag line that is part of the news story format with which we are all familiar (e.g., ".hh Chris Brown, CBC News. London," CBC Chris Brown transcript, line 35). This is not dissimilar to everyday actors needing to construct their greetings to others in such a way that they are understandable *as greetings.* On the other hand, however, the

news journalist is *also* accountable for reporting the facts, that is, he or she must be perceived by the listener as being objective and neutral *vis-à-vis* the subject matter of the report.

Much of what the news journalist works to do is to create an effect of objectivity, all the while also working to keep the story interesting. We could say that maintaining an appearance of neutrality and piquing listener interest are the two goals of the news journalist. The skill of reporting can be seen as a dance between these two goals. Obviously, the two are not mutually exclusive, and a strategic practice may serve both or more purposes.

I will now discuss six strategic practices that were uncovered in the analyses, including (a) the use of other speakers' utterances, (b) the pre-formulating of these utterances, (c) the creation of oppositions, (d) the positioning of self and others (e) the taking of discursive distance, and (f) the creation of the effect of being there. For each, I will examine how it is accomplished and what it achieves, offering examples that we saw in the analyses.

Using Other Speakers' Utterances

Each time the journalist includes another speaker's utterance in his or her report, it represents a choice on the part of the journalist, serving a purpose. It might provide back-story and context, such as we saw in the analysis of lines 1-18 of Nick Spicer's report, where protestor Ed Sykes effectively spells out for the audience the different players in the controversy: the Americans and Tony Blair versus the British people, the French, and the Germans.

Including clips of other speakers can also allow journalists to present politically loaded information or opinions, while still maintaining for themselves a position of apparent neutrality. We saw this in Emily Harris' report with the clips of Tariq Ali. You will recall that the essence of his message is that the war on Iraq had nothing to do with Saddam Hussein because he had been supported for 20 years by the same US politicians who

were calling for his head. According to Ali, the war was really about the West capturing an Arab nation to destabilize the region and to placate Israel. You may also recall that Harris does not comment on Ali's claims, nor does she mitigate them in any way other than by attributing them to Ali by saying, "He said." She thus deftly includes in her report a proposition that some people might find almost inflammatory, while subtly maintaining her own position of objective reporter.

Some journalists seem to include clips of other speakers to bolster their own claims. Turning again to Harris' report, we saw in lines 21-22 Harris' claim that the message was "No" to Bush and Blair. She then backed up this claim by using the clip in lines 23-29 of the call and repeat chanters who called for these two politicians to leave office.

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) tell us that very fact that a speaker has been chosen for inclusion in the broadcast establishes that what he or she has to say is newsworthy. Obviously, these two scholars examined the radio news interview, where participants negotiated their own and others' identities through talk. In my research, however, there is no such interplay of negotiation. Rather, the journalist establishes and even circumscribes the speaker's institutional identity by labeling him or her. This brings me to the next, related strategic practice: pre-formulating.

Pre-formulating Another's Utterance

Essentially, pre-formulating refers to the work a journalist does in introducing a speaker and in interpreting for the listener the gist of what the next speaker is about to say. This can serve many purposes. We saw earlier how journalists can splice together clips from different speakers at different speech occasions to construct a conversation of sorts in their report. We also saw an example of pre-formulating with the analogy of the party host introducing somebody to the guest, here the listener, which functions to position the listener as a participant.

Two excellent examples can be found in the analyses, one from Spicer's report and one from Brown's. In both cases, the journalist pre-formulates the next speaker's utterance so that we hear it in a certain way, *even though the speakers themselves do not say what the journalist claims they do.*

The first example comes from Spicer's report, where he claims Jeannie and Ed Sykes are "out toda:y to send a warning to the man they both voted fo:r (0.3) Tony Blair" (lines 13-14). Close examination of Ed Sykes' utterance shows that he did *not* mention any explicit warning for Tony Blair. He mentions that going ahead with a war in Iraq without UN support could be political suicide for Blair (which could be seen as an implicit warning, or it might just be an observation on his part). However, because Spicer tells us to hear it as a warning, we do. In Brown's report, we find another example of such pre-formulating in lines 14-15, where he tells us that Tariq Ali "says Blair is in a precarious position." In fact, Ali does not comment on Blair, other than to say that his remaining in power will cause suffering for other ministers of Parliament (line 16). Again, we hear Ali's statement the way Brown tells us to because we expect it to build on Brown's statement.

Creating Oppositions

Oppositions can serve both journalistic goals simultaneously. They can increase a report's dramatic narrative tension, or the "sensational" factor, which ostensibly is geared to pique listeners' interest. The journalist can also employ this practice to appear to show two sides of a story and thus creates for himself or herself the impression of objectivity. (Incidentally, this is the "gold standard" of old-fashioned journalism that was invoked in the recent film, *Good Night and Good Luck.*) It can also be used simply as a discursive, descriptive tool. We saw several instances of the creation of oppositions in the analyses of these reports. I will only discuss one here.

Chris Brown uses oppositions to achieve both goals in his report. We saw how he implicitly pits London Mayor Ken Livingstone against Tony Blair,

each vying for the role of spokesperson for the British people. He also sets up the clip from Ali against the clip from Blair as a sort of "battle of the narratives," where each speaker puts forward his interpretation of current events as the singular truth. Both of these oppositions serve to heighten the dramatic tension of the news report – it is the listener who must decide who is the villain and who is the hero between the opponents. This, in turn, serves to position Brown as objective reporter who presents both sides of the story.

Positioning Self and Others

This is another strategic practice that can serve both of the journalist's goals. It is similar to a journalist's pre-formulation of the gist of another speaker's utterance. We saw earlier that positioning can allow the journalist or other speakers to position the listener as a participant. In addition, by naming or identifying a speaker in a certain way, the journalist can affect how that speaker's message is interpreted by the listener. For example, Emily Harris positions Tariq Ali as a member of the category *writer*, which serves to lend credibility to what he says, implicitly "justifying" her choice to include his clip in her report. This positioning also allows her to include his rather dramatic interpretation of events, which, as we saw earlier, functions to heighten the dramatic tension and perhaps the perceived newsworthiness of her report. Obviously, much more can be said about positioning, but for the sake of brevity, I will not do so here.

Taking Discursive Distance

I discussed earlier how Emily Harris included Tariq Ali's almost inflammatory interpretation of events but maintained her own position of neutrality by attributing Ali's statement to him ("He said"). This is one example of a journalist taking discursive distance. It allows the journalist to put forward something "sensational" while maintaining the footing of objective reporter, or as Clayman (1992) explains, the animator of comments.

We also saw in the analyses an example of a journalist leaving the neutral register of *reporting* to enter into the perhaps more biased register of *evaluating*. Chris Brown appears to be subtly biased against Tony Blair's position. In lines 26-28 of his report, Brown says, "Blair said his current unpo:pularity is the price of leadership-and (.) the cost of conviction, ↓a conviction that will be put to the test on Monday." Here, Brown takes discursive distance from Blair's claim (that the cost of conviction for leaders is sometimes unpopularity) by making it clear that Blair is the author and principal of the utterance ("He said"), even if Brown is the animator of the utterance. However, as we saw, Brown then leaves this register of reporting when he offers his evaluation: "[A] conviction that will be put to the test Monday." Here, he effectively casts doubt on the euphoric status of Blair's claim, and this doubt heightens the tension of the story, and hence the interest to the listener. This slippage of footing is momentary, and Brown quickly returns to the register of reporting to tell us that Blair will be meeting with other European leaders. However, the example is important because it demonstrates how deftly the journalist must walk the line between the goals of maintaining the appearance of objectivity and piquing the listener's interest.

Creation of the Effect of Being There

The final strategic practice that I will discuss achieves both of the journalist's goals at the same time. By creating the effect of being there, the journalist adds spice to his or her story, and also makes his or her story more believable. Two ways of creating an effect of being there that have been previously discussed include using clips of other people talking and describing events to the listener. I will focus on another way to create the effect of being there, namely the inclusion of background noise, precisely because I believe it is an excellent example of the constructed objectivity that a journalist can create.

In the analysis of Nick Spicer's report, I noted that it seemed as though Spicer had included background noise of the crowd cheering under the recording of his own voice, which appears to have been recorded in the studio because it is clear and crisp, which we would not expect of a recording of him speaking at the event itself. This merging of the two tracks gives listeners the impression that the report is live, that we are on the scene, and perhaps thus that the report is more believable. I would argue that this is a clear example of an effect of objectivity that is constructed by the journalist (or editor or producer).

Moreover, it also demonstrates that the journalist is very attentive to the context of production, that is to say, he or she knows that context is eminently important to the conversation being constructed for the listener, in much the same way as context is important for a face-to-face conversation. Here, the journalist chooses what he or she considers to be salient cues from the context – what Heritage (1984) called an invocation of commonsense knowledge and of context as resources – to give the listener more contextual information.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter discussed the premises on which this research project was founded, and it discussed the major findings from the analyses. I tried to explain how the radio news story is similar to everyday conversation in three key ways: it demonstrates a sequential organization that is similar to everyday talk, the producers of talk (the journalist and the speakers) attend to the overhearing audience as a participant, and the journalists and other speakers invoke membership categories and membership category devices to make their utterances meaningful to the listener. I argued that these similarities justified the analysis of the radio news report through the lens of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. I then discussed six strategic practices that the members, here three journalists, use to accomplish their goals

of maintaining an appearance of neutrality or objectivity and keeping the story interesting.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have argued that the radio news story is a worthwhile object of inquiry for ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts. I discussed the major assumptions of ethnomethodology and of conversation analysis. In particular, I explained ethnomethodology's assumptions that social actors take the social world as given, and that they rely on their commonsense knowledge to maintain a reciprocity of perspectives with other social actors so as to maintain their perception of the social world as factual. This work is done through actors' accounts, for which they are accountable to other actors. We saw that journalists work hard to present the world as factual, that is, they strive to be seen as objectively reporting on the social world, in this case, on an instance of social protest. They design their accounts – their radio news reports – to be understandable as such to the listener.

In terms of CA's assumptions, we saw that conversational interaction is the sociological bedrock against which other forms of social interaction may be compared (Schegloff in Drew, 2005, p. 74). I tried to make the case that the radio news report is a conversation of sorts, with the listener being positioned by the journalist and other speakers as a silent participant. This extends the work of Heritage and Greatbatch (1991), who posited that news interviews are a form of institutional talk where speakers attend to the overhearing audience.

Three other of CA's assumptions were discussed, specifically that interaction is structurally organized, that contributions to conversational interaction are contextually oriented, and that it is in the details that we see this structure and this attending to context (Heritage, 1984). To this end, I laid out the methodology recommended by CA, and I described the methods I employed in conducting this research, namely, I examined every detail of three radio news reports to see if the radio news report could be fruitfully examined through the lens of ethnomethodology and CA.

I showed that the sequential organization of the radio news report follows the sequential organization of conversation, where each utterance builds on prior utterances. Indeed, the journalists took pains to pre-formulate

utterances that were spliced together from different speech occasions to make it seem as though these utterances were topically relevant to one another. It was also shown that the speakers in the radio news reports attended to the overhearing listener, and in this way, demonstrated that their contributions are contextually oriented. Importantly, I argued that this orientation to context related to both the context of production (where each speaker was presumably interviewed by a journalist) and to the context of broadcast. By revisiting in my Discussion chapter these assumptions of CA, I claimed that I had shown that the radio news story is similar enough to everyday conversation to merit its inclusion in the realm of what CA considers.

I then identified six strategic practices undertaken by journalists to make their stories interesting while maintaining for themselves the appearance of objectivity. These included incorporating other speakers' utterances to create the effect of a conversation and to add dramatic tension, pre-formulating other speakers' utterances to influence how the listener will hear them, creating oppositions that heighten the dramatic tension of the story and give the impression of the journalist being unbiased, taking discursive distance through footing shifts and so on, and creating an effect of being there to make a story more believable. These practices build on those discussed by Ekström (2001) and Clayman (1992), in particular because they show that such practices are used even in radio news talk that is not interactive, as is the case with the radio news story.

Obviously, one limitation of this research is the meandering route I took in getting to my object of study and my theoretical framework. My findings might have been more convincing had I set out in the first place to identify what kinds of radio broadcast talk fall within the scope of CA. On the other hand, if conversational interaction is indeed the sociological bedrock that Schegloff claimed it is, then any radio broadcast might well do. Another limitation of this research is my exclusive reliance on ethnomethodology and

CA as my theoretical underpinnings. A more blended approach might have included scholarship from rhetoric studies or from narratology. Indeed, the work of Burke (1969) and Greimas (1970/1987) might be very informative in understanding how the radio news reports work, both as persuasive arguments and as stories. I chose not to include Greimas because I was concerned that the differences in epistemological assumptions between his work and EM and CA would be beyond my current scholarly abilities. Finally, it could be argued that three specimens of radio news story hardly make for a significant sample size. That is, we cannot generalize the findings here to other news reports. Incidentally, this is an inherent limitation to ethnomethodology and CA where the instance is intimately tied to the context of its production (and in this case, the context of its dissemination).

Despite these limitations, I do hope to have made a convincing case that much can be learned about journalistic practices from a close examination of the radio news story through the lens of EM and CA. One implication of my findings might be a reconceptualization of radio talk in general as being based on conversational norms, even those radio formats that are not interactive. Indeed, one possible direction for future research would be the inclusion of monologic broadcast radio talk, which Hutchby (2005) identified as one area in need of further study. Another implication, and one which I hope to discuss in greater depth in the future, is a more intimate blending of CA's two strands, sequential organization and MCA. I think that the radio news reports analyzed here demonstrate how inextricably intertwined the two are in actual practice. At a broader level, this research project has shed some light on why and how it is that journalist can cover a media event, such as the February 15, 2003 protests, in such different ways, presenting different versions of the same story, all the while seeming to remain objective.

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